

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 213 952

CE 031 736

AUTHOR Lee, Rosemary
TITLE Beyond Coping. Some Approaches to Social Education. Project Report.
INSTITUTION Further Education Curriculum and Development Unit, London (England).; National Inst. for Careers Education and Counselling, London (England).
REPORT NO FEU-PR-4
PUB DATE Aug 80
NOTE 104p.
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adolescents; Adult Education; Career Education; Case Studies; Community Education; Daily Living Skills; *Educational History; *Educational Philosophy; *Educational Practices; Health Education; Higher Education; *Interpersonal Competence; *Mental Retardation; Models; Moral Values; Multicultural Education; Program Development; Program Effectiveness; Secondary Education; Social Development; *Social Studies; State of the Art Reviews; Youth Programs
IDENTIFIERS *Great Britain; Humanities Curriculum Project; Man A Course of Study; Schools Council Social Education Project

ABSTRACT

This report examines various approaches to social education that are currently in use in Great Britain. Discussed in an overview of social education are the following topics: social education in secondary schools, social education and the Youth Service, social education for adults, training in personal interaction, the social education of mentally handicapped adolescents and adults, and further education. A number of approaches to social education are explained, including the information-based, enquiry-based, creative, experiential, awareness-raising, skills training, and modeling approaches. Presented next are five case studies of the following successful social education projects: Schools Council Social Education, Humanities Curriculum (HCP), Man: A Course of Study, Personal Development Training Courses at Lindley Lodge, and Three Life Skills Programs given in Canada and Great Britain. Among those areas covered in the case studies are program scope and definition, approaches to social education, curriculum content, position of the learner, overall objectives, controversy, and substance. (MN)

 * Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
 * from the original document. *

ED213952

PROJECT REPORT

BEYOND COPING

some approaches to social education

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)

✓ This document has been reproduced as
received from the person or organization
originating it.
Minor changes have been made to improve
reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this docu-
ment do not necessarily represent official
position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS
MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Jack Mansell

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

CE 031736



The Further Education Curriculum Review and Development Unit (FEU) is an advisory, intelligence and development body for further education. It was established in 1977 by the Secretary of State for Education and Science to make possible a more coordinated and cohesive approach to curriculum development in FE by—

- (1) reviewing the range of existing curricula and identifying overlap, duplication and deficiencies
- (2) determining priorities for action to improve the total provision and suggesting ways in which improvement can be effected
- (3) carrying out specific studies, helping with curricular experiments, and contribution to the evaluation of objectives, and
- (4) disseminating information about the process of curriculum development in FE.

The publications in this series of Project Reports are intended to inform teachers and others and to stimulate professional discussion about matters of concern to the FE service. The views expressed are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the Unit's Board of Management.

A limited number of extra copies of this report are available from the Publications Despatch Centre, Honeyput Lane, Canons Park, Stanmore, Middlesex (01-952 2366, Ext. 503).

JACK MANSELL,

Director.

August, 1980.

PROJECT REPORT

BEYOND COPING

some approaches to social education

Report of a survey commissioned by FEU from the National Institute
for Careers Education and Counselling

Research Directors : A G Watts and J C Miller
Research Officer : Rosemary Lee

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Preface	1
Introduction	2
 PART I: OVERVIEWS OF SOCIAL EDUCATION	
Introduction to Part I	6
Chapter 1: Social Education in Secondary Schools	6
Chapter 2: Social Education and the Youth Service	17
Chapter 3: Social Education for Adults	23
Chapter 4: Training in Personal Interaction	28
Chapter 5: The Social Education of Mentally Handicapped Adolescents and Adults	33
Chapter 6: A Note on Further Education	35
 PART II: APPROACHES AND PERSPECTIVES	
Chapter 7: Approaches to Social Education	38
Chapter 8: Other Perspectives	50
 PART III: CASE STUDIES	
Introduction to Part III	55
Chapter 9: The Schools Council Social Education Project	56
Chapter 10: The Humanities Curriculum Project	61
Chapter 11: Man: a Course of Study	67
Chapter 12: Personal Development Training Courses at Lindley Lodge	74
Chapter 13: Three Life Skills Programmes	79
Glossary of Abbreviations	89
List of Projects and Associated Organisations	90
References	93

PREFACE

This report represents the result of a one-year project commissioned from NICEC by the Further Education Curriculum Review and Development Unit (FEU). The project was designed to provide a "review and synthesis" of research and development in social education in the hope that this would give FE staff engaged in "social and life skills" teaching the benefit of understanding what had been done in cognate areas in other sectors of education. The project brief was:

To review as many as possible of the major approaches and development projects in social education that have occurred in the last 30 years, with two main aims:

1. Informing those involved in teaching "social and life skills" of the type of work that has already been undertaken and materials that have been produced.
2. Analysing the assumptions and principles on which such developments have been built, so that "social and life skills" course organisers can consider the variety of available interpretations of social education, and have a conceptual framework within which to evaluate them and relate them to their own needs and objectives.

Rosemary Lee was seconded from the BBC to NICEC for the year January–December 1979 to work full-time on the project as Research Fellow. In effect, the report represents one person's *tour d'horizons* of the broad and complex world of social education. As such, it has attempted to steer a path between two pitfalls: a report which would be so subjective as to be of questionable validity; and one which, in an attempt to be objective, would become arid and lifeless. The report is not fully comprehensive, and no doubt another writer would have highlighted different projects and stressed different facets of the projects covered. We hope, however, that the surveys and conceptual frameworks offered by Rosemary Lee both provide some "control" for her particular perspectives, and will help other readers to apply and examine their own perspectives. At the same time, we hope that the inclusion of anecdotal evidence based on Rosemary's visits to projects in operation will enliven the report, and will help readers to "ground" it in relation to their own experiences.

Throughout the project, close contact was maintained with the FEU's study group on the teaching of social and life skills. One of us (Tony Watts) was an original member, and Rosemary Lee was co-opted to the group after her appointment in January 1979. The group's deliberations, now encapsulated in *Developing Social and Life Skills* (FEU, 1980), helped us a great deal, and the similarities which will be noted between that report and this one are an indication of the debt we owe to its other members. There are, however, some important differences between the two projects which need to be noted. Firstly, the NICEC project was concerned with social education rather than with social and life skills development only. Moreover, partly because of the study group's commitment to further education, it was agreed that the NICEC report should concentrate on work outside that sector but of interest to those within it. Finally, the emphasis here is on the review and analysis of practice rather than on the provision of guide-lines for course construction.

The relationship between the study group and the present project was strengthened by the agreement of the members of the former to serve on the Steering Committee of the latter. The full membership of the Steering Committee was:

Tony Watts	NICEC
John Miller	NICEC
Paul Clark	ILEA Advisory Teacher (now Head of General Education Department, Brixton College of Further Education, ILEA)
Geoffrey Melling	Director, FEU
Geoffrey Stanton	Development Officer, FEU
Bob Stradling	Research Officer, Hansard Society

This committee met twice. Rosemary Lee has also been in frequent contact with individual members, who have been generous with their time and expertise. We would like to thank them for their help.

In more general terms, we would like to express our thanks to the FEU for the support and assistance they have offered throughout the project: it has, in our experience, been a model of the way in which a sponsoring body can work with a research institute. We would also like to thank all the people, in Britain and abroad, who have helped Rosemary Lee in the course of her study, especially those who read chapters in draft form: their comments have been extremely helpful. A special word of gratitude is due to Margaret Taylor who has not only typed this report but provided Rosemary with efficient and supportive back-up throughout the year. Finally, we would like to express our thanks to Rosemary herself, particularly for the thoughtful and scrupulously honest way in which she has "worried away" at the complex and difficult issues embedded in the concept of social education. Although we, as Project Directors, bear ultimate responsibility for the project and for any defects the report may have, the credit for the report's strengths and merits belongs to her.

John Miller
Tony Watts
National Institute for Careers Education and Counselling
January 1980

INTRODUCTION

This introduction falls into three sections:

1. Problems and parameters
2. Shape of the report
3. Use of terms and Definitions in the report

The second section includes a "readers' guide".

1. Problems and parameters

Breadth of the area. A very broad definition of "social education" was adopted for this project in order to provide as wide a context as possible within which to set "social and life skills" development. In consequence, the area of possible study has been extremely large. At several points during the year, I have remembered the title of a lecture I once saw advertised in Ipswich—"Art, Sex and Culture: the World and East Anglia"—and have felt that my brief was no narrower. It seemed important, nevertheless, to attempt a map, however sketchy, of the whole terrain in order to illustrate common trends and developments. The coverage of sectors, and of areas within sectors, is uneven; I have, however, supplied references for further study wherever possible.

Some parameters have been established to prevent the task becoming completely unmanageable. With the exception of one social science curriculum ("Man: a Course of Study", described in Chapter 11), projects and courses designed for children below secondary-school age have not been included in the report; nor has degree-level higher education. Literacy and numeracy, although both are clearly pre-requisites for the socially educated citizen in urban Britain, have also been considered to lie outside the report's scope. Again, the emphasis throughout is on planned social education provision, and the influence of the "hidden curriculum" of institutions, reflected through organisational structures, has been merely touched on. Finally, comparatively little attention has been paid to developments in further education, in order to concentrate on areas less well-known to the target readership.

"Projects". The study of published projects has raised several questions. Should a project be considered as a theoretical curriculum, possibly supplemented by pupil materials; or should it be studied in an implemented form, as interpreted by a teacher, and experienced by students? And if the latter, are strengths and shortcomings to be attributed to the project or to the practice? As far as possible, I have observed projects in use and have tried to highlight the differences between theory and practice. Where I have been able to participate as a learner, I have attempted to draw on my own reactions to the materials and the experience. While the central issue of how published projects are best assessed remains unresolved, I have at least tried to make it clear when I am discussing projects in their general, published form and when I am describing the specific examples of practice.

Language. My study has spanned the education and training services, and has involved the consideration of curriculum design, behavioural skills training, and developmental group-work. It has been necessary not only to read within these areas, but to attempt to adopt the frames of reference of those who work within them. That process has been made more difficult by the specialist and exclusive vocabularies in use in these different areas (and in the disciplines of education and psychology which lie behind them). Those who speak of "pedagogy" and "the sociology of knowledge", for instance, seldom *also* talk in terms of "ergonomics" and "variable ratio reinforcement" or of "projection" and "counter-transference". This lack of a common language makes it difficult to perceive similarities across areas. The specialist dialects of separate disciplines seem common parlance—standard English, even—to native speakers, who sometimes tend to raise their voices when speaking to foreigners from other areas instead of searching for different words. I have not become fluent in any of these languages, nor have I always managed to translate from them satisfactorily, and I apologise for any unglossed, specialised words or phrases (an explanatory list of abbreviations is given on page 89). My admiration for the writers who do manage to span these areas and yet write with clarity and simplicity has risen considerably.

2. Shape of the report

Rather than attempting to contain the whole complexity of social education within one conceptual framework, the report suggests several ways of looking at the area. The first is through an exploration of the different definitions of the terms "social and life skills" and "social education". The second is through a consideration of seven *approaches* to social education—approaches which are broadly methodological and which reflect different assumptions about priorities and pre-requisites. Other perspectives are also explored of which the most important is that of the overall *aims of programmes*.

The analyses both arise out of fieldwork and the study of projects and—I hope—illuminate them. The first part of the report presents a survey of developments in social education within secondary schools, youth work, adult education, and training services. Consideration is also given to the social education and training

of one particular client group—the mentally handicapped. A brief description of developments in further education is included. The approaches and other perspectives are distilled from these overviews; and are themselves illustrated by five case-studies of projects which serve to fill out the details of practice in a way that the survey chapters cannot.

Readers' guide. Readers who are most concerned with frameworks for social education should concentrate on the next section of this Introduction and on Part II ("Approaches and Perspectives"). They might also read the concluding sections of the overview chapters, and the introduction to Part III ("Case Studies").

Readers who wish to scan the whole area should turn to Part I of the report.

Readers who are particularly interested in details of projects and practice should read Part III and also parts of Chapter 7.

Projects mentioned in the report are listed on pages 90–92, with addresses for further information.

3. Use of terms

One recurring problem has been the confusing and often overlapping meanings ascribed to the terms "social and life skills" and "social education". There is little consistency about the use of these terms, or about the connotations attached to them.

What appears to have happened recently is that two terms which previously kept their distance—"social and life skills" (or, more commonly, "social skills training") and "social education"—have both been transferred to a new type of provision. The former has associations with adult behaviour; the latter with schools and the youth service—but both are now used in connection with courses for the young unemployed, a group which inhabits the no-man's land between school and adulthood. Since both terms enjoy a certain vagueness both have proved convenient labels for areas of work still in the course of development.

The vagueness of the terms has also allowed them to represent polarised points of view in arguments about the overall aims of programmes. Bernard Davies (1979), for instance, after an interesting exploration of definitions, sets the two against each other in a way which narrows the possible meanings of each. He considers that, on the whole, "social and life skills" suggests an emphasis on social control, whereas "social education" implies a focus on autonomy and, potentially, on social change (see pp. 51–53 for a fuller discussion of these possible aims).

In practice, the terms usually reveal only the most general clues about the nature of programmes, and even these are not reliable. They are more significant as indicators of the *provenance* of a project—"social education" suggesting a youth work influence, "social and life skills" suggesting industrial training, social psychology, or MSC funding. For example, Intaskill, an engineering training workshop in Birmingham, runs a "social education" programme where personal and social development is becoming steadily more and more integrated with what happens in the workshop, and where the Social Education Officer emphasises his skill as an electrician rather than as a teacher. It is difficult to see any reason for this work *not* being called "social and life skills development" except that the workshop is largely funded by the Community Projects Foundation to whom "social education" is a familiar phrase. It is such instances that have prompted the attempt to untangle some of the terms' denotations and connotations, before the working definitions to be used in this report are stated.

"Skill". There is still considerable disagreement among psychologists about the meaning and use of the term "skill". Some feel, for instance, that it is too often confused with "task" or "behaviour", whereas behaviour can only be *evidence* of skill. A useful definition to hold on to, however, is Michael Argyle's (1969) description of skill as an organised, co-ordinated activity in relation to an object or situation which involves a whole chain of sensory and motor mechanism. It is generally agreed that skill can be increased through practice and feedback, and most training programmes include these. Attitudes and understanding are clearly important for both the acquisition and the use of skills.

Within the world of education, the term "skill" is used currently very broadly indeed. Phrases like "how to be an effective father" and "how to manage my sexuality" appear in lists of "skills". One reason for the popularity of the term appears to be its "non-academic" connotation. It is connected with practical activity, and with the world of out-of-school—with training rather than with education. So its use may suggest a "fresh start" and a "short cut". Those who have failed during years of compulsory schooling may succeed now that they are being trained in "skills". There are therefore understandable reasons for wanting to use the term in relation, for instance, to curricula for the young unemployed. There is a danger, however, that things may be labelled as "skills" more because we *hope* they can be taught and can be improved with practice and feedback than because we *know* they can. Also, we may, as in the examples above, imply that complex areas of human life involving attitudes and value-judgements can be wholly considered in terms of skills. (See FEU, 1980, for a further discussion of these issues.)

"Social skills". Apart from the complexity of the word "skill", the term "social skills" is relatively unproblematic. All definitions agree that it is concerned with interpersonal behaviour. Social skills training has traditionally concentrated on two areas—on work with socially inadequate "patients", and on courses for

professionals, especially industrial supervisors and managers (see Chapter 4). Both areas seem to have given the concept negative connotations for some teachers—the former giving rise to anxieties about adjustment to socially-acceptable norms and about behaviour modification, the latter to concern about training in manipulative techniques for competitive ends. Such connotations counter-balance the positive associations which, as we have seen, the term “skill” can attract.

“Life skills”. The term “life skills” seems to have originated in the United States and may well have been coined by Winthrop Adkins. It was adopted by the Canadian NewStart Programme, and thence arrived in England via the Industrial Training Research Unit (Chapter 13 of this report describes the work of Adkins and the Canadians in some detail). The Canadian programme defines life skills as “problem-solving behaviors applied responsibly and appropriately in the management of one’s life . . . the life skills apply to such areas of life responsibility as self, family, peer group, leisure, community and career” (Himsl, 1970a, p. 13). Such a definition clearly subsumes social skills.

The paper which first attracted attention to the area in this country, *The CRAMP Approach to the Teaching of Social and Life Skills* (Pearn, 1977b), divided life broadly into *social* and *coping* skills and defined the distinction thus:

“The former refer to all the behaviours and judgements which are required in order to interact smoothly with other people. By contrast, coping skills do not necessarily involve other people in a crucial sense. The term embraces all the bits of information, behaviour and decision-making which are required in order to go about one’s daily life” (*ibid*, p. 3).

However, the Manpower Services Commission’s *Instructional Guide to Social and Life Skills* (MSC, 1977) although based in part on the ITRU paper, differs from it in separating social and life skills and depicting them as siblings without a parent. Social skills are defined as “the skills needed when dealing with other people, both at work and in private life”, and life skills as “the skills we need to go about our daily lives”. The latter are broken down into “coping”, “job finding” and “leisure” (*ibid*, p.1). No explanation is given for this reformulation and it seems distinctly less justifiable on common-sense grounds than the earlier version. Nonetheless, the publicity given to the *Instructional Guide* and its influence on course design (or course titles, at any rate) have given the compound phrase “social and life skills” a widespread currency, even though either of the phrases “life skills” or “social and coping skills” would seem preferable to it.

“Social education”. One of the reasons for the confusion surrounding the term “social education” is that it is often used as though it had one agreed definition and therefore needed no further explanation or qualification. In fact, it has several different meanings, and even when definitions sound alike they often cloak significant dissimilarities. Central to many definitions is some formulation about the development of understanding of self, of others and of society. But disagreement is evident (though often not explicit) about where the emphasis should lie (on self, others, or society); how the understanding is to be achieved; and to what ends it is being developed. The confusing relationship between “social studies” and “social education” in schools arises from the first two of these areas of disagreement. If a very broad definition of social education is employed, then the development of knowledge and understanding of social structures and social issues (the areas with which social studies is usually concerned) will be an important element. Sometimes, however, the emphasis is on social relationships, and in this case, social studies will only be included if the knowledge and understanding it aims to develop are considered to be (as they are not always) pre-requisites for the satisfactory formation of such relationships. Alternatively, if the emphasis is on the understanding of society, then social studies will be seen as the central element, and may indeed take over from social education as the title of the course or programme. So, the terms may co-exist, or either may subsume the other.

At least three definitions of social education—ranging from very broad to relatively specific—are in common currency:

- (i) *Social education comprises that whole area of planned educational development related to the self, others and society.* This is the definition underlying Elliott and Pring’s *Social Education and Social Understanding* (1975). It has interesting similarities with the description of the social/political area in *Curriculum 11–16* (DES, 1977, supplement):

“The social and political area is concerned with relationships within society: between individuals, between individuals and social groups, and between social groups.

“It involves a consideration of beliefs and values, of purposes and motivations, of rules and conventions, of authority and power.

“Understanding one’s own personal relationships requires self-knowledge as well as knowledge and sensitivity towards others”.

- (ii) *Social education is primarily concerned with personal development.* This is the definition which fits most work labelled “social education” in school timetables (with the exception of that covered in (iii) below) and in the youth service. In practice, this branch of social education tends to emphasise social relationships within the first two of the categories above—relationships between individuals, and between individuals and social groups—as for instance in the National Youth Bureau’s definition:

"In a rapidly changing and increasingly complex society, social education is about the balance between:

- coming to terms with oneself as an individual needing to cope with uncertainty;
- relating appropriately with those around one as an active member of groups, communities and society at large" (NYB, n.d.).

As a rough rule-of-thumb, *social studies* may be used to distinguish (i) from (ii). It is not usually included in the latter.

- (iii) *Social education is primarily concerned with community involvement.* This is the definition adopted by the Schools Council Social Education Project (described in Chapter 9) and work associated with it:

"The principal aim of the project is to provide an enabling process through which children will achieve a sense of identification with their community, become sensitive to its shortcomings and develop methods of participation in those activities needed for the solution of social problems" (Rennie *et al.*, 1974, p. 130).

Definitions in the report

Social education. For the purposes of the report, I have adopted the broadest of the three formulations of "social education" given above. The term "social education" will therefore be used to cover all those teaching or informal activities which are planned by curriculum developers, teachers, or other professionals to enhance the development of one or more of the following:

knowledge, understanding, attitudes, sensitivity, competence, in relation to:

- the self and others, and/or
- social institutions, structures and organisation, and/or
- social issues.

This definition allows "social education" to subsume "social and life skills". Moreover, by using the word "professionals" the definition effectively excludes what Harris (1976, p. 80) calls "the educational components of early child-rearing and family life in general". This is not to deny that some aspects of parental upbringing—those, for instance, where reasonable explanations are given for advocating certain kinds of behaviours ("It's a good thing to clean your teeth because they decay if you don't" as opposed to "Clean your teeth because I say so")—are socially educative; it is simply to provide a working definition for the current project which focuses on those activities most likely to have relevance for other professionals.

A distinction needs to be drawn, however, between "social education" and the wider area of "social learning" of which it is a part. Much social and personal development occurs as a result of processes and influences which fall outside any of the definitions of social education discussed above, because they are not consciously planned to enhance development—peer-group interaction, for example, or the hidden curriculum of family life ("Women can't be meant to clean cars because my mother never cleans ours"). Such social learning processes are of unquestionable significance but fall outside the focus of the present project.

Social and life skills. The term "social and life skills" has such a strong hold now that I have used it in the report so as to avoid confusion, although I should have preferred "life skills" (which is confined to the description of the transatlantic programmes). "Social and life skills" is used to cover the areas of *social* and *coping* skills as defined by Michael Pearn (see p. 4). I have followed *Developing Social and Life Skills* (FEU, 1980) in distinguishing social and life skills development from other social education provision largely by considering the former as having curricular objectives derived from the social demands of work and of everyday life.

PART I: OVERVIEWS OF SOCIAL EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION TO PART I

This section of the report is concerned with mapping broad areas and trends of social education development. A word about the different chapters and their order may be a helpful preliminary. The first three chapters survey developments within three areas of education: secondary education, the Youth Service, and adult education. Chapter 4 describes the social education contribution of training methodologies. Chapter 5 concentrates on work with the mentally handicapped. Finally, a note about further education completes the section, and leads on to the next. Further education was not included among the earlier chapters because it is not mapped out in the same way: the aim of the note is simply to point out comparisons with trends in other areas.

The problem with overviews which concentrate on the main areas of educational provision is that the projects which get left out are often particularly interesting ones. They may be dealing with clients who have themselves "fallen between the cracks" of the education service, and/or they may be operating outside recognised educational institutions and drawing on unconventional resources. Two examples of such projects which I regret not having been able to discuss are the ROSLA Community Education Project in Bristol (White and Brockington, 1978) and the "Just the Job" project (Media Project, 1978). The former has developed social education work with school truants, involving student teachers and local mothers in facilitating roles. The latter has combined television programmes, information and resource kits, and counselling groups in an attempt to reach, and help, the young unemployed in Devon and Cornwall. I hope that readers will be able to take up the references to these projects, and will remember, as they read the following chapters, that there are other, similar omissions. Nonetheless, the number of social education initiatives *within* mainstream provision is quite considerable.

CHAPTER 1: SOCIAL EDUCATION IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Introduction

The only generalisation that can safely be made about social education in schools is that it is a confusing and sensitive area. It is not surprising that this should be so: in a climate of general uncertainty about what should be taught and in whose interests, sections of the timetable that claim to be concerned with personal development, with social institutions, and with social issues are bound to reflect diversity and attract public scrutiny. Schools are not only faced with the problem of trying to meet the current demands of a pluralistic society; they are also charged with the responsibility of preparing students for futures which technology is making increasingly unpredictable. In such circumstances, there is a continuing question about the definition of each of the following aims: the transmission of traditional knowledge and culture, the personal and social development of the individual, and the preparation of a new generation to enter the work-force. There is also a continuing question about the relative degree of emphasis which these three broad aims should be given. An equally persistent supplementary question concerns the most appropriate teaching methods for effecting each of them. Much of the development described below can be seen as a series of attempts at different answers to these questions.

Within a general diversity, the diversity among schools and among subject teachers adds to the researcher's problems. The name of a school subject is often an unreliable guide to its content or approach:

"Social Education at M means the miscellaneous topics given to non-examinees, ranging from first aid to folksongs, while for example at D, the same title refers to a two-year kind of anthropology cum world religions course" (Lukes, 1979, p. 54).

I have seen a religious education syllabus which included "hire purchase". The other side to this is that there is no predicting where, in a school's time-table, treatment of any specific topic may be guaranteed. Will "the use of leisure", for example, be discussed in careers education, in economics, in moral education or in environmental education? (Probably at one time or another in all of them, but usually without inter-disciplinary consultation or cross-referencing.) "In the lower sixth we have one lesson . . . where we can talk about anything" a student was quoted as saying in a newspaper article called "How you learnt about sex?" (Phillips, 1979). In his school, the lesson was "use of English"—in others it might be general studies, health education or humanities.

A consequence of such diversity is that it is difficult either to discuss social education in terms of subjects, or to find a satisfactory alternative framework. I propose to look at general trends in three broad areas:

1. Social studies: the branch of the curriculum which concentrates on the development of knowledge and understanding about man in society.
2. Subject areas concerned with personal and social development—political, industrial, multi-cultural, environmental, careers, moral, health education—considered both separately, and in combined forms.
3. "Traditional" subjects, e.g. history or English, with a social education component.

Such a division is roughly comparable to that found in many schools where the timetable in the fourth and fifth

years includes all three: social studies (often as a CSE subject); "personal and social education" or some equally imprecise title for an amalgam of some of the subject areas listed in (2) above, which may or may not be compulsory; and may or may not be examined; and traditional subjects like history, geography and English (as O-level and/or CSE subjects). All of these groupings are concerned with social education within the terms of this report.

The emphasis throughout the chapter will be on work at the upper levels of the secondary school (fourth, fifth and sixth years). In such a general scan of the territory, no individual area can be satisfactorily covered, but I have indicated where further information may be found.

The hidden curriculum. One point which should be made at the outset is that although the overview is concerned with planned curricular provision, the importance of the social climate of the school should not be forgotten. This climate is affected by school structures—particularly by those concerned with the maintenance of discipline, and with pastoral care, but also by streaming and setting arrangements and by timetabling priorities. Such structures carry messages about the value the school places on various activities, various kinds of behaviour, various types of ability. The quality of relationships within a school—whether between teachers, between students, or between teachers and students—will be affected by and themselves affect, the total atmosphere (Hargreaves, 1967; 1975; Rutter *et al.*, 1979). Students may adopt and internalise the attitudes and values of the school, or may repudiate them as irrelevant and alien. In either case, social lessons have been learned.

Indeed, the hidden curriculum may well be a more potent source of social learning than planned classroom provision, which its messages may sometimes undermine. When that happens—when, for instance, co-operative learning in one classroom is outweighed by a school-wide emphasis on competition—what may be learned is a kind of moral relativism which neither the class-teacher nor the school intended (though the cynic could argue it may be no bad preparation for adult life).

Throughout this chapter, therefore, the importance of school structures and relationships should be borne in mind because of their influence both on individual students' personal and social development and on changes within the curriculum.

1. Social studies

The changing fortunes of social studies will be traced briefly, since its history highlights several general trends.

The fall and rise of social studies. Social studies first became widespread in the years following the 1944 Education Act, when the establishment of the secondary modern schools made possible—or, as some would put it, necessary—the development of non-examinable courses drawing, in particular, on history and geography but often presented in an integrated topic-centred form. There was a strain of idealism in the description of the subject. James Hemming (1949) for instance, stated as one of his aims:

"To foster the development of spontaneity, self-reliance, flexibility of mind, clear thinking, tolerance, initiative, articulateness, adventurousness of outlook, courage in the face of new problems, enjoyment of created activity, sound standards of action and appreciation, world-mindedness, a sense of purpose and a philosophy of life" (p. 8).

By the late 1950s, such courses had fallen into disrepute and many had disappeared. This decline can partly be accounted for by the pressures on schools, even secondary moderns, for specialisation and for external examination successes. In such a climate, broadbased and non-examined subjects lost favour—with parents and children as well as with employers and educationalists. Moreover, the association of social studies with the less able and the less academic did it no good. A much-quoted statement of Charmian Cannon's (1964) still has an uncomfortable relevance today: "A subject thus identified with the non-academic child has little chance of success in the English education system" (p. 23).

But the nature of some of the courses themselves also laid them open to criticism. The main grounds were that they were too broad and too unstructured. Vincent Rogers, a distinguished American educationalist whose book *The Social Studies in English Education* (1968) gives an extremely interesting account of the situation up to the mid-1960s, cites a *New Society* survey of 1964 as indicating that "many headmasters felt that they were offering 'social studies' because their students were visiting old people, helping raise money for a playground, arranging for guest speakers to lecture at the school, etc. To these heads 'social studies' is *not* perceived as an area of study that draws heavily on the concepts, generalisations, and methods of the social sciences" (p. 14). Such unstructured collections of learning experiences were not therefore only criticised by the upholders of traditional subject disciplines. As in the passage above, they were also attacked by social scientists who felt that the chance of using their concepts and methodology as the organising foci for social studies was being lost.

The disfavour that social studies fell into at this time has had an influence on its later development, and on other areas of social education, which still persists. For when, partly as a result of the Newsom Report in 1963, and particularly as a response to the raising of the school-leaving age in 1972, the social studies movement began to revive, conscious efforts were made not to repeat what were seen as earlier mistakes. Indeed, the term "new social studies" began to be used (notably by Lawton and Dufour in their handbook with that title (1973)) partly to make the fresh start clear. The main concern of the advocates of the new "social studies"

was its establishment as a respectable intellectual discipline, concerned with insights, concepts, and modes of enquiry drawn from the social sciences. The emphasis was firmly on the development of knowledge and understanding through systematic structured study. In Lawton and Dufour's handbook, one section—"The Disciplines of the Social Sciences"—considers in turn the key contributions that sociology, anthropology, political science, economics, psychology, history and geography can make to social studies curricula. It is a significant section because of the implication that the teacher needs to have this kind of intellectual framework before embarking on a social studies course. It is also significant that psychology is treated almost entirely as a subject to be learned about rather than as a way in to self-discovery.

One of the chief tenets of advocates of the new social studies was that the subject should enable students of *all* abilities to develop a critical awareness of their social environment. Knowledge and understanding about society were seen as crucial pre-requisites for full citizenship, and it was therefore incumbent on teachers to develop these with all their pupils. Otherwise, the argument ran, one found oneself in a situation where only the able students developed awareness and judgement, while the others were "educated in obedience" by studying disconnected topics or learning useful skills in a critical vacuum. That was the situation some feared the Newsom Report might foster—and it has uncomfortable echoes today in relation to some social and life skills courses for the young unemployed. Indeed, this focuses one of the crucial questions in social education: what degree of *informed understanding* is necessary for full participation in our society, and how can it be effectively developed in all students? The new social studies' emphasis on egalitarianism—"understanding for all"—has been one of its major contributions. To some extent, however, its history can be seen as a struggle to achieve this end at the same time as consolidating its position in the school.

The insistence of the new social studies on its right to be considered as respectable a subject area as history or geography (representing, through its social science provenance, a distinct way of perceiving reality) strengthened the emphasis on intellectual rigour which, as we have seen, was also dictated by its need to disassociate itself from the earlier courses. Thus it has tended to ally itself with other subjects which assert the primacy of knowledge and cognitive understanding, and—through its wholesale rejection of the earlier, more experiential courses—has caused a "split" in social education which still persists. The dangers in such a development are, first, that social studies itself may become too academic to be accessible to all students; and, secondly, that by implication the successors of the earlier courses on the "personal and social development" side may be considered to be inherently unrigorous—"mushy" as I have heard them comprehensively dismissed.

Currently most social studies courses in schools are likely to be derived from the ideas developed as the "new social studies" in the late 1960s, although sociology, rather than the full range of human sciences, has emerged as the dominant discipline. Courses tend to be topic-based, with government and politics, the family, law and order, and the world of work emerging as favourites. Advisers and HMI report that there are still few specialists teaching the courses. It is a popular subject at CSE level, and about two-thirds of the examination syllabi are in Mode 3 form.

Recent developments in sociology have led to criticisms of prevailing trends from some within the social studies movement. One of the grounds is that the emphasis on sociological method devalues the pupils' own commonsense knowledge and experience. Gleeson and Whitty (1976) suggest that the flight from "life-adjustment" has merely led to "a process of sociology adjustment—i.e. adjustment to the world as seen as sociologists" (p 13). Apart from anything else, it could be argued that this emphasis has increased the difficulty of the subject for pupils to whom abstraction does not come easily. Current directions are also criticised by those who argue that sociology, as "socially constructed" knowledge, is misleading in its claims to present a value-free view of society and to promote a critical awareness. One such group of London teachers is working on resource materials which they hope will enable themselves and their students "to focus critically upon the social world in order to understand how the given order is not arbitrary but part of a dialectical process in which we are participants" (Inman, 1976, p. 10). They have deliberately set out to make their own political stance explicit within the materials. Such initiatives are still very much a minority development, but they raise important questions about the value-assumptions which go unexamined in much social studies teaching. They also, of course, arouse controversy.

Such controversy assumes an extra importance when one realises that social studies is still not assured of its position in the school. The relative scarcity of specialist teachers is one factor in its vulnerability; another is its liability, like all subjects in the social education area, to public attack on grounds of political or social bias. In a review of a social studies text-book in the *Daily Telegraph* (26th November, 1979) Patricia Morgan asserted:

"Some teachers are now beginning to stand out for their own discipline's autonomy against the encroachments of social studies. Considering the form it now appears to be taking in many schools and in course materials, the question is—can its presence in the curriculum really be justified at all? At very least, if an ideology is being expounded in the classrooms, it needs to be recognised for what it is and parents given the opportunity they have with religious education—of withdrawing their child from lessons".

Such writing could more easily be dismissed as mere rhetoric if it were not for informed rumours that some schools are currently phasing out social studies as a potentially controversial subject without traditional claim to tenure. New proposals for a common-core curriculum are unlikely to alter such trends. The HMI discussion paper *A View of the Curriculum* (DES, 1980) gives much more support to history as a school subject than it does to social studies.

Teaching methods in social studies. Many of the early social studies courses claimed to involve "discovery methods". When, however, Rogers (1968) examined social studies, history and geography courses in the early 1960s, he pointed out several shortcomings which stemmed, he felt, from misconceived or misapplied theories about the age at which children could deal with concepts or abstract generalisations. In his view it was too often only in the sixth form (and he wrote with enthusiasm about sixth-form teaching in England) that pupils were really encouraged to investigate, question, and argue. Also, he found an avoidance, below sixth-form level, of areas of social conflict or controversy. Such an emphasis on the sixth form as the place where true learning begins has consequences for pupils who never get there. At best, they are always treated as children; at worst, they may actually be misled by over-simplified presentations of complex issues. (Some would say that Rogers was over-enthusiastic about sixth-form work. Even now, few A-level subjects adopt an enquiry-based approach.)

One feature of the new social studies was the importance it gave to conceptual thinking, and to the usefulness of enquiry-based methods of learning in this respect. Its supporters asserted that pupils should be inducted into the modes of thought and enquiry proper to the discipline they were studying, rather than being presented with the end-product of others' research. Materials should be designed to stimulate debate or further investigation rather than to supply answers. The writings of Jerome Bruner (1963; 1966), which combine an emphasis on understanding rather than factual knowledge with a methodology based on enquiry rather than on didactic instruction, were seminal.

Bruner's conviction that the key concepts in any discipline can be introduced to children initially in an elementary form and then in progressively greater complexity and abstraction ("the spiral curriculum") has had an important and constructive influence on social studies development. Many courses have adopted a spiral approach. For one thing, if, as Bruner (1963, p. 33) states, any subject can be taught in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development, then the problem raised earlier of how to develop cognitive understanding of complex social and political issues in all students must be capable of solution. It should be possible, through careful curriculum design, to lead students to handle progressively more sophisticated concepts. Moreover, the emphasis in Bruner's work on the *active* nature of enquiry-based learning points to a way of motivating students to learn by capitalising upon their inherent curiosity. Because of its importance as an embodiment of Bruner's ideas, the social studies curriculum "Man: a Course of Study" will be described in detail in Chapter 11. Much more will also be said about enquiry-based learning in Chapter 7.

2. Personal and social development

The subject areas discussed under this heading may seem an odd assortment with little in common except their precarious foothold on school curricula. That certainly is a shared problem, but one to which different strategies may be applied. As we shall see, advocates of several of these subject areas are less concerned with obtaining a slot on the timetable than with introducing their distinctive aspects into other established subjects. Certain other generalisations, however, can be applied to most of the areas. On the whole, they are more concerned with the personal and social development of students as individuals than with the transmission of a body of knowledge. The selection of topics for study—as in social and life skills development—is likely to be related to the perceived needs of students—either to their immediate needs, or to their needs in the post-school world. Moreover, they tend to emphasise the teaching of strategies and processes—particularly of decision-making and problem-solving skills. There are obvious arguments in favour of combining several of these areas into composite "subjects", and I shall discuss such combinations later. First, I intend to give an indication of curriculum development trends in each area, along with references for further study.

Political education. The most substantial British curriculum development project in political education is the Programme for Political Education which was initiated by the Hansard Society and the Politics Association in 1974, with a grant from the Nuffield Foundation. It has been concerned to promote *political literacy*—that is, the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed for an informed understanding of politics, for the ability to participate in groups of all kinds nationally and locally, and for tolerance of diverse political and social values. The requisite knowledge includes the understanding of key concepts (like "power" and "conflict") as well as basic information about central and local government. Adherence to such "procedural values" as respect for truth and rationality is to be encouraged. More controversial is the inclusion under requisite skills not only of judgemental abilities but of capacities for active participation. Without these, one of the programme's Directors argues:

"... political literacy would be limited to a solitary intellectual exercise; the politically literate person would merely be capable of well-informed observation and analysis. The ultimate test of effective political education lies in creating a proclivity to action" (Porter, 1979, p. 100).

Political activity is defined by the programme as the process employed by people in groups for reconciling conflicts of interests or values where the continued existence of the group is of paramount importance to at least the majority of the members. This definition extends the scope of political education well beyond its traditional concentration on national or local government to encompass the activities of groups of all kinds and sizes—including schools, and classes within schools.

Besides clarifying the concept of political literacy, the work of the project has involved the development of possible modules embodying the principles of the programme for different subject areas and teaching situations. Some local development work has also been undertaken. (In 1976, a special grant was obtained from the Anglo-German Foundation for the Study of Industrial Society to support and extend the programme's work into the field of further education. Teaching modules and guidelines have been produced.)

The paper on "Political Competence" in *Curriculum* 11-16, the collection of working papers by HM Inspectorate (DES, 1977), underlines many of the programme's main points, including the emphasis on political education as a component of other subjects—either across the curriculum or within the broad range of the social sciences—rather than as a separate specialism. Political education has always been a controversial area. This used to be because it was associated in the popular imagination with party politics; now, it is the emphasis on active participation which gives rise to anxiety in some quarters. For a different critique, which suggests that current models may be too protective of the existing order, see Whitty (1979). For a full account of the Programme for Political Education, see Crick and Porter (1978).

Industrial awareness. Pressure for inclusion of industrial awareness in the curriculum comes largely from outside the schools, reflecting a feeling that teachers know little about industry and commerce and hence are ill-equipped to prepare students to enter a world where both are influential and important. Several initiatives date from the late 1970s. One is a school text, *Understanding Industrial Society* (Sanday and Birch, 1976), which is the basis for both O-level (Modes 1 and 3) and CSE examination courses. Interest in these examinations has grown steadily, and they are taken from a number of subject "bases", including social studies and economics. Another is the Understanding British Industry project sponsored by the CBI Education Foundation, which is particularly concerned with liaison between schools and industry and with dissemination of information. A third is the Schools Council Industry Project, established in January 1977 after consultation with representatives from the TUC, the CBI and the world of education.

This latter project is concerned to develop a broad framework of liaison between schools and industry not confined to any particular aspects of school life or areas of the timetable. It is working, through local co-ordinators, in five areas of the country, with a pronounced emphasis on devolved structures and independent development. One of the areas is Wandsworth, in inner London. Three articles in *Contact* (Street, 1979a; 1979b; Fortune, 1979) give an interesting account of the progress of the project there. The co-ordinator expresses some of the aims of the project thus:

"The hope is that the curriculum work should not involve teachers alone, but should take place against a backdrop of closer school-industry liaison. This means that the project is seeking to develop opportunities for pupils to have contact with adults other than teachers in teaching roles; encourage teachers to develop the curriculum in collaboration with employers and trade unionists; develop school-based work experience schemes, with a clearly defined curriculum context; and extend this for pupils of all abilities" (Street, 1979a, p. 28).

In the articles some of the practical difficulties of turning this hope into reality are described: the problem of deciding just how to use a trade-unionist as a resource in the classroom; the trade-unionist's fear of addressing school-children; the timetabling constraints on organising work experience satisfactorily. Interestingly, work experience has proved a particularly popular aspect of the project in Wandsworth, and the local co-ordinator is producing a handbook as a guide to both teachers and employers. The kind of background support—the production of guidelines, the setting-up of liaison meetings—seems to be a key function of the co-ordinators in the project. No position is being taken on whether the work should take place as a separate "subject" or whether it should form part of existing curriculum areas. In Wandsworth, teachers of social studies, chemistry, design and technology and economics have all been involved in aspects of the project's work.

For reference-points on UBI and the Schools Council Industry Project see pages 90 and 92.

Multi-cultural education. In a very interesting overview of the multi-cultural curriculum, Jenny Williams (1979) suggests that three broad approaches can be distinguished: the "technicist", the "moral", and the "socio/political". The "technicist" approach is essentially remedial. It assumes that minority group students will need special provision in order to achieve equality of education opportunity. The "moral" approach aims to develop understanding and awareness of different cultures in *all* students, and to foster racial tolerance. The "socio/political" approach is concerned with the rights of minorities. One broad branch of this latter approach favours the permeation of the whole curriculum with a multi-cultural emphasis which would include the study of the history and literature of all groups in society, and the maintenance of mother tongues: in this way a separate cultural identity could be maintained within a plural society. A second branch puts more emphasis on political struggle and education self-help. Of the three approaches, the "moral" and the "socio-political" are the most relevant to the present study.

The "moral" approach tends to operate through class-discussion, role-play, and study of relevant literature. The whole area has been fraught with controversy, and some consider that it is best left alone—that prejudiced attitudes may harden if they are once allowed to be raised. After the Schools Council's decision not to publish the Humanities Curriculum Project's *Race* materials, Lawrence Stenhouse continued an investigation on the effects of teaching about race relations with support from the Social Science Research Council and the Gulbenkian Foundation. Both teaching strategies involving neutral chairmen (see Chapter 10 for a full explanation of this role) and those involving teachers who presented themselves explicitly as "persons of goodwill" were found to be moderately effective in countering prejudice. Stenhouse states, however:

"When teaching about race relations meets the education criterion of appeal to the judgement of those who are taught as opposed to adopting the stance of brainwashing, a fairly substantial minority of those taught will, during teaching, shift attitudes in the undesired direction" (Stenhouse, 1979, p. 152).

Although he goes on to remind us that unless such a trend were generally true there would be no need for brainwashing, it is easy to see how such findings can confirm teachers in their reluctance to engage in this arena. Certainly, their fears of being unable to manage classroom relationships if overt expressions of racism are voiced cannot be dismissed easily.

The emergence in the early 1970s of some courses in Black History and Caribbean Studies can be seen as part of the "socio/political" approach. The emphasis now tends to be on literature rather than on history, and some schools have done a considerable amount of work in this area. Some critics, however, attack this whole branch of the approach as a misguided attempt to interest alienated students through a culture they may find no more relevant than the majority version. Farrukh Dhondy (1978, pp. 85-86) for instance, suspects that his students would find worksheets on Naipaul or Indian religions just as boring as they do everything else they encounter in school examination syllabuses. Their problem is a more political and more deep-seated one.

This is an area full of conflicting ideologies and small-scale initiatives and it highlights issues of attitudinal change and social control relevant elsewhere. For further study, see Jenny Williams' article (1979) and the references she lists. A reference-point for the project on teaching about race relations is given on page 91.

Environmental education. The area of environmental education is sometimes represented in the school curriculum as a collection of social and global problems which are studied in such subjects as geography or biology. At other times (less frequently) the emphasis is on the development of awareness of the local environment through trails, games and community involvement (see the reference to "Art and the Built Environment" on page 41). One of the supplementary working papers of *Curriculum 11-16* (DES, 1979a, pp. 1-3) considers the area as a whole, and the reader is directed there for further study. The paper emphasises the need for awareness of the environment, for understanding (particularly of ecological principles and relationships), and for concern and participation. Among other reasonable expectations of 16-year-olds in this area are that they should, "in so far as environmental issues are concerned, have a basis on which to develop the ability to make informed decisions affecting themselves and society—and the interest to do so" (*ibid.*, p. 3). The similarity here with statements about political education is interesting.

Careers education. Since the late 1960s, the main emphasis in careers education has been on career decision-making. The objectives defined in a DES survey (DES, 1973, para. 14) are often quoted as key:

1. To help boys and girls to achieve an understanding of themselves and to be realistic about their strengths and weaknesses.
2. To extend the range of their thinking about opportunities in work and in life generally.
3. To prepare them to make considered choices.

These outline an area of work concerned with processes—the development of self-awareness, opportunity awareness, and "decision learning"—rather than just with the transmission and reception of information about jobs. In addition, some (e.g. Laws and Watts, 1977) include a fourth component—"transition learning"—preparation, that is, for post-school experiences. In all these respects, careers education may be confined to work roles, or may be taken to include family, community and leisure roles as well.

Common problems facing schools which wished to establish careers education in the late 1960s and the early 1970s were the lack of specialist teachers and the shortage of appropriate materials. One independent body which has done much to support schools in this area is CRAC (the Careers Research and Advisory Centre). CRAC both runs courses and workshops for teachers and produces materials, many of which deal with self-assessment techniques and decision-making strategies (e.g. Hopson and Hough, 1973; Law, 1977; Watts and Elsom, 1974).

Another initiative designed to provide extra resources was the Schools Council Careers Education and Guidance Project, established in 1971. The production of materials for 13-18 year-olds across the ability range was its chief task. The project has proved controversial for a complex range of reasons, some of which are relevant to the subject area, and indeed social education, as a whole.

The materials have been criticised as brash and vulgar, although many pupils have liked their format. Some are in the form of newspapers and magazines, and plentiful use is made of cartoons and photographs (one problem about such an approach, of course, is that it can quickly become out-dated). More serious have been the criticisms of part of the content as questioning the accepted order in school, as well as in the world outside. Whether or not one agrees over specific charges of political bias (mention of the "Right to Work" campaign in trial material for the unemployed is said to be one reason that this particular pack has not been published), it is unlikely that awareness-arousing material (unless confined to the self) can escape posing questions about the *status quo*. Using the school as case-study material (which has the obvious advantage of involving students' first-hand experience) makes matters particularly sensitive. Moreover, the active nature of many of the recommended learning activities—involving small-group work, role-plays, and research outside school—has posed problems for some teachers unused to such methods. The materials are addressed directly to the student—almost as if there were no teacher present. The facilitating role such an approach implies for

the teacher is unfamiliar for many. The materials concentrate on raising awareness, and forcing pupils to examine and question attitudes—their own and others. They do *not* supply knowledge and information; nor, on the whole, do they tackle specific skill acquisition. Teachers, therefore, have not been provided with the total learning package many would have liked. Moreover, the original brief paid little attention to the need for a context of dissemination and in-service training within which the project's work could be fully understood and used. (Such a programme is now, however, currently being undertaken for the Schools Council by the National Institute for Careers Education and Counselling (NICEC).)

The shortage of material in the careers education area has been impressively remedied over the last decade. Besides CRAC and the Schools Council project's materials and the information-based service provided by COIC (the Careers and Occupational Information Centre), there are now a considerable number of texts, films and kits available. This is also a strong area of broadcasting provision—both on radio and television.

Much has been written, in relation to careers education, about the desirability or otherwise of its occupying a separate slot in the school timetable (see, for instance, Watts and Herr, 1976). As with other areas discussed in this chapter, even if "dispersal" is recommended, the need for some kind of co-ordinator tends to be stressed so that the careers education element in different subjects does not simply disappear. The Careers Guidance Integration Project—based at NICEC with joint funding from the DES and the EEC—is undertaking a form of consultancy research in schools and colleges of further education in selected local authorities. It is particularly concerned to investigate organisational structures as they relate to the careers education and guidance which young people receive.

For details of the projects mentioned, see page 90. For further information, see Hayes and Hopson (1971); Watts and Herr (1976) and the references listed there; and Law and Watts (1977).

Moral education. Work in the area of moral education has developed along several different lines. One has emphasised moral *reasoning*. In the United States, Lawrence Kohlberg's analysis of six developmental moral stages associated with increasing rationality has been used as the basis for such an approach, and also as an instrument for measuring the effectiveness of a wide range of moral education programmes. In Britain, John Wilson's work in distinguishing the different components of moral judgements as a methodological framework for moral education has been important. He sees morality as a form of thought which can be developed in pupils, given adequate materials and informed teaching (Wilson *et al.*, 1967). Both Kohlberg and Wilson accept a view of morality as objective.

A different emphasis is reflected in the value-clarification movement, which originated in the United States (Raths *et al.*, 1966; Simon *et al.*, 1972). This is sometimes described as *amoral* since it is less concerned with the development of morality than with the clarification for individuals of the values they hold and the ways in which these are reflected in their behaviour. The focus is therefore on greater self-awareness. The criteria for determining whether or not a value is fully assimilated are related to the degree to which it is "chosen", "prized", and "acted upon". Value-clarification techniques draw attention to the presence or absence of these criteria and to mis-matches between them (the degree to which a value, such as tolerance for instance, may be publicly affirmed—"prized"—but not practised). The techniques are finding their way into text books and curriculum material in this country now (see, for instance, Watts and Elsom, 1974).

A different approach again is taken in the Schools Council's Moral Education Project (13-16). Here the focus is on attitudinal and behavioural change, with an emphasis on the emotional rather than the cognitive elements of morality. The explicit aim, as stated in the Schools Council's profile, is "to help children in secondary schools to adopt a considerate style of life, that is to adopt patterns of behaviour which take other people's needs, interests and feelings into account as well as their own". The project materials are based in part on evidence from representative samples of children about situations in which people had treated them well or badly, in their terms, or in which they had not known what to do. These are presented in a variety of ways—one set of materials, *Points of View*, for instance, asks students to take the role of the other in an argument or conflict before deciding on a course of action. The material moves outward from such dyadic situations to problems involving groups, and finally to moral and social issues in a worldwide context ranging from drugs (*Gale in Hospital*) to war (*Hard Luck Story, South Vietnam*, 1966). The situations can be explored through such techniques as simulation which lend themselves to the kind of experimental behaviour that the project team found to be a major adolescent learning process. The project rests on the assumption that considerate behaviour is contagious and rewarding:

"The natural basis and motivation for moral behaviour (that is, treating people with consideration for their needs, feelings and interests) which emerges from this study is that people need each other's acceptance and support and this can only be surely gained by showing consideration, by treating others as ends in themselves and not only as means" (McPhail, 1974, p. 40).

In a comparison of the work of Lawrence Kohlberg and Peter McPhail (the director of the Moral Education Project), Marian Smith (1973, pp. 353-359) suggests that the latter does not really aim to develop children beyond the third of Kohlberg's stages. Certainly, although the Moral Education Project is concerned with questions of judgement and generalisation, its emphasis is far less cognitive than the work of either Kohlberg or Wilson. This may reflect McPhail's decision to work inductively as far as possible, beginning with adolescents' own concerns and learning processes.

For details of the project, see page 91 and McPhail *et al.* (1972).

Health education. New developments in health education are striking in their emphasis on psychological as well as physical health, and in their focus on health choices. The relevant working paper in *Curriculum* 11-16 (DES, 1978b) states that the subject area should "provide enough knowledge and understanding to afford people a reasonable chance of leading healthy, responsible and harmonious lives. It should contribute towards the making of decisions about behaviour in the light of changing knowledge and social patterns. In addition it should develop an individual's self-esteem and ability to take responsibility for his own health".

Two projects in the area illustrate these trends in rather different ways. "Living Well", a Health Education Council Project for 12-18 years-olds, was directed by Peter McPhail and shares with the Schools Council Moral Education Project a grounding in social learning research and a base-line of adolescents' own concerns. The materials produced by the project emphasise the importance of personal relationships and of positive self-image—in fact, a very "un-medical" view of health. Like the Moral Education Project, "Living Well" asserts that social attitudes and behaviour can be "caught" and that learning processes which allow adolescents to try out different styles of behaviour are most likely to be successful.

"Health Education 13-18", which is a joint Schools Council and Health Education Council project, is particularly concerned with the organisation and co-ordination of the subject area within schools, although pupil materials will be produced where gaps are perceived. The project team emphasises that the needs of young people should be the major criteria for determining a curriculum in this area. It distinguishes two important elements—the developmental tasks an individual has to fulfil, and current patterns of health and illness. The latter needs to be interpreted in such a way that health hazards are explored where appropriate (road safety, for example, linked to the age at which accidents peak) without the syllabus becoming over-weighted with "crises"—VD, abortion, lung cancer. Throughout, there is an emphasis on the exploration of the whole context in which health choices are made, and this necessarily involves the consideration of attitudes, feelings and pressures. Information-giving is less important than the encouragement of decision-making processes. Assessment of risk is treated as an important factor here.

"Health Education 13-18" has recognised the similarities between its approach and that of other curricular areas, and a large part of its work has been devoted to exploring with schools how co-ordination might best be achieved.

For details of these two projects see pages 90 and 91.

"Social education"/community enquiry. The subject area which embraces the "narrow" definition of social education is covered by the case-study on the Schools Council's Social Education project in Chapter 9.

Experiential elements. Brief mention should also be made here of the range of activities which provide learning opportunities through out-of-school experiences. Many schools, for instance, provide some kind of residential experience for at least some of their students at some time in their school careers. While such experiences cannot be called a "subject area" they certainly contribute to students' social education, particularly if reflection on what has been learned is built into the programme. The experiential approach to social education is discussed in detail on pages 42-44 below. Here, only a few points will be noted in relation to two of the most common activities: community service and work experience.

Community service is now an established part of many school curricula. The HMI survey *Aspects of Secondary Education in England* (DES, 1979b, p. 211) found that about half the schools in their sample included it in their programmes of work, although in practice it was often only available to the less-able students. Some forms of community service in schools have been criticised as ill-thought-out solutions to the problem of bored fourth and fifth-year students (see, for instance, Ball and Ball, 1973). The HMI survey comments:

"In a number of schools the education experience gained by the pupils on community service was limited by insufficient consultation with the receiving agencies, inadequate preparation of the pupils for their service and the lack of time given to follow-up and discussion when the pupils returned to school" (DES, 1979b, p. 212).

There is, however, a steadily growing emphasis on the importance of preparation and follow-up work which has been fostered, in particular, by Community Service Volunteers. *The School in Action*, for instance, is an introductory pack of theirs which outlines the range of possibilities and problems involved in community service. In a more specific field, *Teenagers in Playgroups*—produced in association with the Pre-school Playgroups Association—is a resource-kit of information and suggestions to support a play-group placement. Such materials should encourage the move towards structuring community service without destroying its experiential quality. An account of work in one school which discusses very fully some of the main issues about this area—whether it should be voluntary, for instance, and whether it should be formally assessed—is published as one of the Volunteer Centre's case-studies (Groves, n.d.).

So far as work experience is concerned, a paper by Tony Watts entitled "Work Experience Programmes: The Views of British Youth" (Watts, 1980) provides a useful overview and distinguishes several different objectives of schemes. Some, for instance, are primarily vocational in nature and aim to help students determine their future occupation, while others have the broader aims of developing an understanding of the world of work and of working relationships. The organisation of work experience is time-consuming and difficult for teachers, and many have welcomed the involvement of Project Trident. This industry-funded trust organises work, community and residential experience for schools in co-operation with local authorities. As mentioned above, the Schools Council Industry Project is also involved in such organisation at local level.

Work experience shares with community service some frequent failings—in particular, a tendency to be limited to the less able (and sometimes less docile) students, and a lack of adequate preparation and follow-up. Fortune (1979) gives an interesting account of an attempt to structure work experience in a course which includes a public-examination assessment.

Combined courses. Marked similarities among developments in the subject areas discussed above should now be evident. They share a primary focus on the world outside school, and on the needs of the student in relation to adult life in that world. Many share an emphasis on learning processes rather than information transmission. Moreover, there is a distinct overlap of content. It is significant that two Schools Council publications specifically illustrate this latter point: *Race Relations and the Curriculum* (Schools Council, 1972) lists aspects of projects which contribute to multi-cultural education, while "Careers Across the Curriculum" (Storey, 1979) does the same for careers education. Some projects, particularly those prepared for students affected by the raising of the school-leaving age, are deliberately not tied to specific subject areas and can be used in a variety of settings. The Humanities Curriculum Project, which is described in detail in Chapter 10, is one example.

Overlap between areas is not surprising, given the common focus, but it can be wasteful and confusing. Some current developments in careers and health education, in particular, are concerned with questions of integration across the curriculum, and of combining similar subject areas. So long as care is taken to see that distinctive content elements are preserved, combined courses have much to recommend them, and can do much to break down artificial barriers between, say, health and moral education, or industrial awareness and careers education. Courses can be envisaged in which decision-making and problem-solving strategies are applied in a variety of contexts relevant to the adult world and drawing on specific subject areas. Moral, health and careers education is the combination most often suggested—with a dash of political and environmental awareness if they have not been assimilated into social studies. Many such courses may currently be found in schools with such titles as "Personal and Social Education", "Learning for Life" and "Preparation for Adulthood".

At this stage, however, a note of caution has to be introduced. So far, the subject areas have been described in the main in terms of current curriculum development. Not only may project directors and researchers agree more readily on common ground than teachers; the whole theoretical picture may be very different from actual practice. In the field, combined courses are often unsatisfactory, partly because of organisational constraints and lack of credibility.

A major problem in the whole area is that of the *status* of the work. The very fact of its non-traditional nature tells against it in the academic hierarchy that still dominates most schools. Courses in personal and social development tend to be taught by non-specialists, often without strong departmental backing. They are usually run either as compulsory general courses for all or as options for the less able. The former at least implies that the area has relevance for all students; with the latter, it is sometimes cynically suggested that such courses are desperate attempts to cobble together relevant topics to keep alienated students quiet. In neither case, in an examination-dominated climate, can pupil motivation and interest be guaranteed. (I visited one school where the non-examined common core social studies was one of the few subjects on the timetable that had immediate relevance to students' lives. It was almost universally unpopular, however, and students frequently asked if they could study extra maths instead.) One solution to which many schools resort is to make the courses examinable. Even then, the CSE Mode 3s which most devise are perceived as inferior to CSEs or O-levels in more academically respectable subjects. One London comprehensive school found that their erstwhile compulsory non-examined community studies course gained considerably in popularity once it became a CSE option in community rights. But the brightest pupils still opted for sociology.

The combination of non-specialist teachers (often without in-service training or support within the school) and low-status work is not conducive to good teaching, and some of the syllabi of combined courses raise questions about their quality. They often sound disconcertingly like the early social studies offerings from which the new social studies was so concerned to disassociate itself. They tend to be topic-based, and the juxtaposition of items is sometimes bizarre. Under the heading "self in relation to the family", for instance, one school syllabus lists the following: "function, structure, child care, baby battering, grand-parents, mortgages, divorce and personal disaster such as death, accident, terminal illness". In a cheerfully irreverent article about school sociology and social studies in Humberside, Lukes (1979, p. 54) mentions a course, *not* in Humberside, which focuses on "Oppression, Happiness and Doom". More seriously, he questions the common practice of concentrating on *problem* situations in these personal and social development courses, suggesting that there is an underlying implication that these must be relevant for the students since, they are themselves, potential social problems.

Lukes feels that these courses neglect knowledge in favour of unstructured enquiry-learning and discussion techniques. There is little evidence, however, of systematic use of such teaching methods. Indeed, preliminary findings by a working-party based at Jordanhill College surveying social education in Scotland are that teachers who use varied methods within their own subject teaching often resort to traditional methods in social education periods. Suggested reasons include practical constraints like class size, as well as lack of training and support. It certainly seems likely that in areas where many teachers feel out of their depth, the focus may easily slip from the exploration of interpersonal behaviour to more familiar, teachable topics.

"These skills become particularly manifest in making and handling relationships, making decisions and taking and practising responsibility. Pupils as pupils ought to achieve and develop practical skills of life-saving, or first aid . . ."

The speed with which this extract from a course outline moves from the abstract to the concrete and practical reflects, I suspect, practice in more than one school. Nor, given classes of twenty and over, can this be surprising. How many of the learning strategies recommended in curriculum projects can fully be implemented with large groups?

The HMI secondary survey relieves the gloom of the preceding paragraphs somewhat. Discussing work designed to contribute to personal development, it states:

"Some examples were found in all types of school of well conceived courses of this kind which encouraged pupils to meet life as young adults outside the school with greater confidence" (DES, 1979b, p. 211).

3. Traditional subjects

It would be wrong to end this over-view without some acknowledgement of the contribution which traditional subjects can make to students' social education—both to their understanding of institutions and issues, and to their self-awareness and interaction with others. History and geography are obvious examples of subjects concerned with the former area; English, drama and art of those concerned with the latter. In many schools, these last mentioned three have concentrated on the encouragement of self-expression in pupils—on fostering individual, creative responses through the provision of stimuli and through various forms of reinforcement. Such self-expression can be designated "social education" both because it involves the exploration of self-awareness, often in relation to others or to the environment, and because it implies an *audience*. As John Dixon (1967) writes about English, "pupils meet to share their encounters with life" (p. 13).

The degree to which subject teachers emphasise the social aspects of their subjects and the ways in which they do it, vary considerably. English, for instance, is capable of several different social education "slants". In the 1960s in particular, the emphasis in many schools was on creative self-expression. Students were encouraged to write imaginatively, and the study of literature was used both to stimulate such writing, and to help students recognise and extend their feelings through identifying with the experience of others. To quote Dixon again, "literature, by bringing new voices into the classroom, adds to the store of shared experience" (*ibid.*). This trend was associated with the Institute of Education at the University of London (and hence with the London Association with the Teaching of English), and also with the writings of David Holbrook, although these latter had a more pronounced psychoanalytic stance. Parallel with this trend ran a rather different one in which English resembled a kind of social studies. Literature was selected for its social concern, and often used rather as though it were case-study material and not fiction. Students' follow-up work involved community investigation—even compiling surveys, sometimes, or collecting statistics. Now there is a noticeable shift back to language skills. The focus is on the selection of appropriate modes of communication in a wide range of social contexts. All of these trends have a pronounced social emphasis. Quite possibly, however, there are schools where none of them has had any impact and where the subject is still taught as a watered-down, simplified version of university English literature courses.

Although English may be an extreme case, it serves to highlight the varieties of provision within subject teaching. It may be possible to discern a general trend towards emphasising the social contribution of traditional subjects. This can take the form of content selection (as in the "social studies" version of English above) or of a concentration on learning processes and strategies of a general applicability. For instance, two of the Schools Council's projects—Geography for the Young School Leaver, and History 13–16—both emphasise the acquisition of general intellectual skills through the study of their specialist disciplines. History 13–16 also aims to develop empathy. The interim report of the Keele Further Education Curriculum Analysis Project, which has surveyed curricular projects spanning a 16-year period, notes "an increasing shift from the academic facets of subject matter to its potential as a vehicle for developing personal, social and 'coping' skills. This is noticeable not only in the non-sciences, but in the sciences and mathematics also" (FEU, 1979b, p. 3).

The working papers in *Curriculum 11–16* give a very interesting cumulative impression of concern for social aspects of subjects in terms both of understanding and of skills. This is partly because "the social and political" is one of the eight "areas of experience" which the document considers to be essential curricular elements (DES, 1977, p. 6): the writers of papers are therefore concerned to make the case for their subjects in terms of as many of these areas as possible. Even so, the papers on Language, Art, Drama, History, Geography and Home Economics (DES, 1977; 1978a; 1978c) are important summaries of current thinking.

Once again, however, it must be remembered that projects and working papers do not necessarily reflect practice in the field. The HMI secondary survey, far from discovering an upsurge in active learning methods of a kind which might encourage the development of personal and social skills, reports:

"... much of the teaching observed in very many schools in the fourth and fifth years consisted of highly directive teaching of examination techniques and the production of routine notes and exercises copied from the blackboard, from textbooks or dictated by the teacher. However laudable the intentions, the major effect of such teaching is the promotion of memory and transcription skills at the expense of curiosity, initiative, oral skills, independent work and the ability to discriminate" (DES, 1979b, p. 213).

Concluding comments

That depressing quotation illustrates the gap between curriculum projects and classroom practice. Despite the trends noted earlier, it seems likely that information-transmission is still the most common teaching method in schools. In social education terms, this means that the emphasis is likely to be on the acquisition of knowledge about society—its organisation and institutions. There is a growing interest, however, in the development of attitudes and skills—the latter being seen, on the whole, as generalisable decision-making and problem-solving strategies, rather than as specific abilities (like being able to fill out an application for a driving licence). Relatively little work is being undertaken in the field of personal interaction, although two publications may signify a growing interest. The Lancashire Curriculum Development Project has been devising guidelines and materials for work in tutorial periods on the encouragement of students' sensitivity and social competence. The influence of Leslie Button is discernible and the whole approach is more like awareness-raising group-work (see pp. 44–45 below) than is usual in schools. Some of this work has already been published (Baldwin and Wells, 1979). Another example of the attempt to inject work directly focused on social behaviour into school timetables is *Life Skills Teaching* (Hopson and Scally, 1980). A major difficulty in implementing such work must be the size of most school classes and tutor groups.

Moreover, the question must be raised as to whether the structure of schools makes it possible for them to be effective in developing pupils' individual responses as social beings:

"Is it possible for students to engage in honest, deep and comprehensive exploration of *self* in institutions which they perceive to be largely concerned with controlling them and assessing them in relation to a rather limited set of intellectual skills? Is it possible for students to develop *decision-making* skills in institutions which give them very little control over their day-to-day lives: for instance, is it possible for students to prepare adequately for complex and crucial career decisions in institutions in which they are not even permitted to choose what to wear? Again, is it possible for students to explore adult *opportunities* and to prepare adequately for the *transition* to adulthood in institutions which are largely closed off from the community around them?" (Watts and Herr, 1976, pp. 139–140).

Another general question concerns the credibility and security of the whole area of social education in the school timetable. We have seen that even social studies is not totally established, and that other subject areas, separately and combined, have little status in an academically-oriented school. The HMI secondary survey stresses the need for more attention to be paid to planned provision:

"Schools place great emphasis on fostering their pupils' development by means of pastoral structures and organisations. Much would be gained if equal emphasis was placed on the learning in the classroom and the teaching of an appropriate curriculum" (DES, 1979b, p. 239).

It is, however, difficult to see how this can happen effectively while such courses are seen by parents, employers, and institutions of higher education as of lesser currency than the traditional academic subject areas. At present, able children are often denied access to courses which emphasise active learning in the community and personal development through self-awareness, while the less able are labelled as such through their participation in such courses. In this respect, although questions are often raised about the closed nature of schools and their accountability, it is difficult not to sympathise with them over the trap they find themselves in. While being criticised for inadequately preparing children for adult life, schools find the courses they devise specifically for these purposes being rejected by consumers and their parents in favour of the traditional examination route.

The proposals for a common-core curriculum (DES/Welsh Office, 1980) appear unlikely to affect the *status quo* as far as social education is concerned. After discussing the recommended core subjects, the paper lists a wide range of areas which contribute to the preparation of young people for adult life (most of those discussed in this chapter are mentioned). It states that:

"... at one stage or another, all should find a place in the education of every pupil" (*ibid*, para. 32).

The next but one paragraph, however, adds:

"... but the extent to which a school can enable an individual pupil to explore all this territory within the time available is clearly limited" (*ibid*, para. 34).

Finally, the social education area in schools is particularly exposed to public criticism and debate, because its concern with attitudes and behaviours in the world outside school inevitably involves it in an arena of controversy. *Curriculum 11–16* (DES, 1977, p. 10) describes very well the conflicting messages which schools receive about the appropriate values they should develop. Throughout my report, examples will be quoted of hostile reactions to projects and innovation. Some teaching methods, particularly experiential ones, are also regarded with suspicion. For me the whole complex area of interaction between the school and those it serves was highlighted by a story I was told about a community school, which, true to its name, committed a substantial part of the timetable of all students to "community studies". The "community", in the form of the school governors (who included several parents), objected and asked for more literacy and numeracy tuition instead. "These right-wing demands for literacy must be resisted", said a teacher who was also listening to the story. The confusion of social, political and educational objectives in both the anecdote and the remark are, alas, not untypical of this whole area.

The nature of youth work

A useful outline description of the Youth Service is given in a paper from the National Youth Bureau (1978):

"The Youth Service is one of the most complex of British institutions: an enigmatic reflection of its origins and haphazard development. The phrase 'Youth Service' is used to denote a wide range of voluntary and statutory provision for the leisure time, social education and recreation of young people between 14 and 20 years. Characteristically it includes a Girl Guide company, a group of young church members, a youth club. It stretches beyond these to include cultural organisations—youth orchestras, drama clubs and bodies which cater for the recreation of young people through the encouragement of such activities as travel or camping and for community service projects by the young: however, as commonly understood, the Youth Service in Britain does not include students' organisations nor the youth wings of political parties. The Youth Service is part of the Education Service and responsibility is shared by the Department of Education and Science, local education authorities and voluntary organisations. Finance is limited (just over 1 per cent of the total education budget). Basically finance in the statutory sector is made through the local authority block grant arrangements; most of the finance in the voluntary sector is raised by the organisations themselves although the DES and local education authorities do provide some grant aid.

"But such a brief outline of the Youth Service's administrative parameters does not do justice to the lack of unity which exists about its purposes or boundaries . . ."

Despite the proviso at the end, several aspects of the complexity of the service are indicated here: the co-existence of voluntary and statutory provisions; the diversity of activities which are carried out under its name; its accountability to more than one authority. To this list can be added the staffing of the service, consisting, as it does, of both voluntary and paid workers, the latter employed both full- and part-time.

Over the past twenty years some youth work has moved away from institutional settings into various kinds of community involvement, becoming—as a consequence—less easily identifiable. Moreover, youth workers are increasingly engaged in schemes funded and controlled by government departments other than the DES, and local authority departments other than education. The Youth Opportunities Programme for young unemployed people (funded by the MSC), and Intermediate Treatment schemes for young offenders and those considered potential delinquents (funded by local authority social services departments) are two notable examples. All these factors make youth work, in the words of the Steering Group for the Review of the Training of Part-Time Workers in the Youth and Community Service "an incorrigibly heterogeneous and contradictory field of activities" (Review Steering Group, 1978, p. 17), and render generalisations about it almost certainly suspect.

Aims and orientations

However diverse its forms, youth work involves an *intervention* by adults in the lives of young people. Recent historians of the Youth Service (Davies and Gibson, 1967; NYB, 1978) have shown how its origins in the 19th century sprang as much from anxiety about the potential unruliness of youth as from altruism. The programmes which were developed were often quite explicit about their aim to prepare young people to find their place in the adult world—meaning a fixed place in a fixed, unchanging adult world. For instance, William Smith's conviction that the purpose of youth work must be, in part, "the promotion of habits of obedience, reverence, discipline, self-respect and all that tends towards true Christian manliness" (quoted in Davies and Gibson, 1967, p. 38), is illuminating in its emphasis on the virtues of *restraint*. Moreover, the activities which were provided, as well as the standards and judgements which were encouraged, reflected the ideals of the sponsors and organisers. In their terms, they provided opportunities, particularly for the less fortunate, to experience, and identify with, a "better" way of life. One purpose of early youth groups was to divert their clientele from commercially-provided entertainment, encouraging as it might either dissolution (the pub) or passivity (spectator sports), and instead to promote healthy pursuits, often in the open-air of the countryside.

Bernard Davies, building on terms first suggested by Steve Butters (in Review Steering Group, 1978, pp. 28–30) has designated all these activities which sought to inculcate attitudes and habits conducive to the perpetuation of the *status quo* as "schooling". He differentiates this from another major youth work orientation—that of "welfare". The origins of "welfare" he traces to a realisation that, however successful "schooling" might be in general, there would always be some who would remain untouched by it, and who would need *individual* care and attention in order to develop appropriately. Both orientations, he points out, are concerned with social control rather than social change, and both are still potent influences on youth work. I have found this "schooling"/"welfare" distinction a useful one to bear in mind during my study.

I propose to discuss social education in the Youth Service under three main heads: activity-, client-, and community-based work. To some extent, these can be seen as sequential—"the preoccupation with 'the club' in the 50s and with the 'unclubbables' in the early 60s spreading to a wider concern with the 'unattached' in the late 60s and with community action and the 'disadvantaged' in the 1970s" (Eggleston, 1976, p. 192). In such a diverse and amorphous service, however, they all also co-exist.

Activity-based youth work

To the adult outsider, youth work is probably still equated with activities: table-tennis in youth clubs; Outward Bound rock-climbing; first-aid in the Guides. Indeed, such activities—both those which fill day-to-day leisure time (like the table-tennis and the first-aid), and those which involve a complete change of scene and perhaps of living conditions (like the Outward Bound experience)—are still much in evidence. Young people are often initially motivated to join a club or organisation because of the activities on offer. Conversely, however, the activities may be a deterrent for some, particularly if they are seen as “childish”, or as amateurish compared with commercial provision. There is also some evidence that “activities” appeal more to middle-class than working-class young people (Eggleston, 1976), and that they are relatively less popular with girls than with boys (see Hanmer (1966) for an interesting study of girls’ attitudes to leisure).

Many activities are justified by those who promote them as educational “in themselves”. That is, the experience itself is felt to have an intrinsic value. It is usually also claimed to have some kind of lasting effect, in terms of developing confidence or particular personal qualities. Thus, orienteering, for instance, may be seen as intrinsically worthwhile—a healthy thing to do—and also as encouraging initiative and co-operation. Indeed, outdoor pursuits generally tend to be described in these terms. As we have seen, they have been a part of youth work since its beginning, and are still an important element. Despite the strong criticisms of Davies and Gibson (1967) who expressed doubts about the transferability of learning from these experiences, and about their relevance for a largely urban population, activities like canoeing, camping and climbing continue to appear, particularly as elements in programmes connected with industry. Both Unified Vocational Preparation (UVP) and YOP schemes, for instance, make use of them.

There are, however, important differences in the way such experiences are handled. The emphasis may purely be on the *doing*—enduring the cold, reaching the destination. Competition may be involved—racing canoes on a lake, tackling an assault course in teams. And in both cases, *reflection* on the experience may or may not be encouraged. As one young man wrote after an industry-sponsored course:

“I think I have learned a lot more about getting on with other people and doing things I have never done before like walking for miles fell walking, rock climbing but you have to make a report when you come back so its not just the walk but you have to think and take notes as you go round and having to talk together to get over problems . . .” (LABC, n.d., p. 3).

It seems to me that the current trend, maybe in response to critics like Davies and Gibson, is very much towards “debriefing” of experience, so that “it’s not just the walk”. Such debriefing often focuses on the social interaction that took place: who took charge? how did you make decisions? what happened when you disagreed? In these cases, it is the combination of the experience itself and the reflection on its social components that constitutes social education.

Such reflection may be intended to highlight course objectives, or may be completely open-ended. For instance, if *co-operation* is a quality which organisers are concerned to develop, then the aim of a debriefing session may well be to encourage course members to identify co-operation as essential to the task they have just performed. On the other hand, a session could be concerned simply with comparing different styles of working without assumptions about which is preferable. The latter is rarer—suggesting, I feel, that most of those who promote activities are also concerned to promote certain qualities which they consider are inherent in them.

A major criticism of activity-based youth work is its propensity to make the task more important than the client. Particularly where the worker is an enthusiast or an expert, he or she may put the successful organisation of a visit, for instance, or a good record in a sports league above the needs or interests of individuals. Even community service can become an activity where the demands of the task (regular visiting of old people, for example) take precedence over the needs (not just the preferences) of the young people involved. Davies and Gibson argue that these latter needs should come first:

“The adult cannot . . . conceive of his task as if he were carrying on crusades for certain interests or pursuits or faiths, and indeed there may be occasions when he has a responsibility to help young people to avoid, for example, acting in a play, learning an instrument or joining a church” (*ibid.*, p. 102).

Activities can, however, be seen, not only as *ends* in themselves but also as *means* towards social relationships. Traditionally, many young people have seen them in this way, and have joined clubs or organisations to “be with my mates” or “to meet people”. Here the activity, although of some interest, is also a pretext for something else, especially when heterosexual relationships become important (the function of the tennis club as a middle-class dating agency is an example). Youth workers also, of course, use activities in this way—as a *means* of making relationships with their clientele. Certainly, it is often easier, for both adults and young people, to strike up friendships and to talk about personal matters while overtly involved in some “neutral” activity—painting an old person’s flat, for instance, or out on a walk. But the covert nature of the worker’s intervention in such situations raises some questions, and will be considered in the next section. Indeed, this way of using activities is an example of how one kind of youth work blurs into another. Once the shift occurs from “activity” to “relationship”, we are really in the sphere of client-based work.

Client-based work

A general trend. While scattered examples of client-based practice can be found throughout the 20th century history of the Youth Service, it became established as the dominant orthodoxy during the 1960s—

a decade of concern about relationships and self-discovery. Definitions of social education and of the purposes of youth work in this period followed a common pattern:

"We do not, as we shall hope to show, underestimate the value of formal education effort within the Youth Service. But we believe that the primary basis of such a service is social or pastoral . . . The service should seek first to provide places for association in which young people may maintain and develop, in the face of a disparate society, their sense of fellowship, of mutual respect and tolerance" (Albemarle Committee, 1964, paras. 134 and 135).

"(Social education) enhances the individual's understanding of how to form mutually satisfying relationships and so involves a search by the adult for ways of helping the young person to discover how to contribute to as well as take from his association with others" (Davies and Gibson, 1967, p. 12).

"Perhaps the greatest opportunities will arise through the understanding of human behaviour which the leader and his team of helpers must possess, so that they may, through friendship and personal influence, help young people to learn to understand the attitudes and behaviour of others, and in so doing come to understand themselves" (Evans, 1965, p. 167).

The emphasis is on personal development and self-awareness, and the implication is that the relationship between the worker and the client can be a significant factor in the client's growth to maturity. Other important relationships will be those within the peer group and these again may be facilitated and perhaps interpreted by the worker. In this model, whatever the surface activity—table-tennis or chatting over the washing-up—relationships are likely to be the worker's chief concern.

This is still the main orientation of the Youth Service. It is reflected in many of the training courses for youth workers, both full- and part-time. For instance, the Regional Basic Training Scheme for Part-Time Youth Workers which emanates from the Brunel Institute of Organisation and Social Studies aims to provide opportunities for:

- (i) Personal development of the student; the understanding of himself and of others.
- (ii) Specific inputs associated with group dynamics, sociology of youth, psychology of adolescence and community work. These in turn relate to the overall rationale and subsequent course developments.
- (iii) Practical youth work skills, especially those associated with face-to-face work with both individuals and groups.
- (iv) Overall, the programme of work is aimed at helping young people—especially in providing new experiences and other aspects related to their social and personal development" (Day, 1977).

This scheme, like several others, draws heavily on the work of Leslie Button (1971; 1974) with adolescent groups. The course includes trust games, psycho-drama, and exercises in self-description. One of the pieces of fieldwork involves intensive study of a group of young people:

"The fieldwork is about relationships, group roles and normative structures of a group of young people . . . The student will take a positive role in the group process and will be concerned with social diagnoses and action associated with the group processes" (*ibid*).

Here, the origins of this approach in social psychology are made clear, as is its developmental emphasis. Also illustrated is a certain vagueness typical of the language of this kind of work—"face-to-face skills", "a positive role in the group process". This scheme does at least make it evident that the youth worker is to work with groups on the areas mentioned, putting members through some of the exercises or processes he or she has encountered in the course in order to raise their awareness. Often, though, it is not easy to discern, either from reading or discussion, exactly what the *content* of this kind of youth work is, or might be. In part, of course, this is because—relying as it does on sensitivity to personal interaction—it will often be *responsive* rather than *initiating*.

Work with the "unattached". One reason for the development of client-based work in the 1960s was the publication of the report of the Albemarle Committee (1960) on the *Youth Service in England and Wales*. Among its recommendations was the establishment of experimental projects to reach the "unattached"—the two-thirds of young people who made no use at all of the Youth Service. These projects necessarily involved workers in leaving the security of their premises, and it often also challenged the security of their assumptions about what they had to offer, as they ventured out to find their clients. This movement can be seen as an illustration of the "welfare" orientation. The assumption seems to be that the "unattached" will be in *need* of youth work intervention, either because they are at risk of becoming, for instance, delinquent or addicted in some way, or because the very fact of their being unattached has cut them off from the "schooling" process of mainstream youth work.

Fundamental to work with the "unattached" is the notion of a relationship between worker and young person as a basis for intervention. Even when workers develop some kind of practical base for their activities—a youth counselling service, for instance, or an accommodation office—this usually follows a phase in which they have diagnosed local needs through informal contact with their "clients". And for such initial contact there is no obvious pretext. Detached youth work of this kind has thrown into focus not only the difficulties of making relationships in such circumstances, but the ethical problems which confront the worker.

Two extracts from *Borderlines*, an account of detached work with homeless young people in Manchester, illustrate the dilemmas well. In the first, a worker reflects on his refusal to accompany some young men on a search for girls:

"I feel there were several reasons why I shouldn't have gone (e.g. my previous conversation with Bob and my implied disapproval of 'pro hunting'; do I want to attract the image of a lad after the girls; the car was almost certainly stolen; and what would I have done at the other end?) On the other hand they probably wouldn't have found any girls anyway, and it would have been a good way of gaining their confidence and getting to know them better" (Cox and Cox, 1977, p. 28).

The second highlights the problems the worker faces about disclosing his identity, and about his right to intervene:

"I've come to feel that maybe there should be signs up, on the lines of those guard-dog ones—something like 'Danger: Detached Workers Operate in this Arcade'" (*ibid.*, p. 31).

The tensions revealed in these extracts all relate to the questions of who the workers are supposed to be, what they think their purpose is, and what their purpose is perceived to be. To some extent, as I have suggested, the club worker who is concerned to develop relationships under the guise of table tennis is not acting openly, but his or her situation is nowhere near as complex as that of detached workers. The latter may be afraid they will alienate potential clients if they disclose their identity, and yet they can be accused of deception if they do not. Moreover, the accepting relationship they offer may in practice confront them with constant dilemmas about their moral stance *vis-à-vis* their clients and their sponsoring organisations. In these cases, the worker can be seen as embodying unresolved conflicts within the Youth Service, and many commentators attest to the resultant strains.

Community-based work

The impetus to community-based youth work is commonly ascribed to the Milson-Fairbairn Report on *Youth and Community Work in the 70s* (1969). Advocating what it called "the active society", the report stated: "we are concerned to help young people to create their place in a changing society and it is their critical involvement in their community which is the goal" (para. 152). Although the report's main recommendations were not adopted, it was influential in breaking down some of the barriers which separated the Youth Service from other sectors of education, as well as from agencies outside, and in encouraging the association of the terms "youth" and "community", however unclear the nature of that association remains in practice.

Work with the "unattached" can also be seen as a factor in the move towards community-based practice. As workers came into contact with the social problems of homelessness, poverty, addiction, and isolation, they often began to offer their services in relation to these problems. From this, it was a short step to involvement in the community (often without a limiting commitment to youth), which sometimes led on to community action.

The Milson-Fairbairn Report recommended the closer involvement of the Youth Service in "community development". This phrase has been interpreted in various ways which have influenced or validated different practices and activities. Detached youth workers, in many cases, found in it confirmation for their approach, and were able to consolidate what they were doing. Thus, in the late 1960s and early 1970s projects tended to become established with extra workers and office premises from which information, counselling or accommodation services could be run. Moreover, many youth centres themselves spread feelers into the community and began various kinds of "outreach" work with young people.

But "community development" does not specifically refer to youth. One trend has thus been for youth workers to move progressively into areas not necessarily concerned with young people. In these cases, the needs of youth are seen as only part of the needs of a wider community which it is the youth workers' responsibility to serve, and which may have a call on their premises and resources, as well as their professional skills. Such an orientation may spring either from a view that age-distinctions are unimportant; or from a conviction that the general needs of a community are so pressing that they must be met before any useful work can be carried out with one age-group. An interesting account of the developments leading to the Young Volunteer Force Foundation's change of name to "Community Projects Foundation" (Allinson, 1978) illustrates the reactions of one organisation to progressive involvement in the community, and its gradual abandonment of community service by young people which previously had been one of its chief *raison d'être*. This kind of move towards generic community work has not surprisingly been criticised for its relative neglect of youth, and for its failure to appreciate the need young people have to identify themselves as "young" often in order to have any self-definition at all.

"Community development" may also, however, be taken as a description of a kind of activity in which young people themselves should engage. That would certainly be in line with the Milson-Fairbairn Report's emphasis on "the active society", and on participation and the need for political education. The BIOS Training Scheme for part-time workers referred to above adopts this interpretation. The second of its intensive fieldwork exercises is a Community Work Project:

"This second project involves the young people in finding out about *their* local community and entails action research, discussion with those who live in the community representing a wide age range,

and finally some action programme aimed at improving community life, either a section or the total community. The action could involve community service (providing that such service arises from the group's investigations), the provision of some form of improved facilities, or even serving as a pressure group" (Day, 1977).

There is a delicate balance here, indicated on the one hand by the stricture against imposed or "guided" community service, and on the other by the wariness of the "even" in the last phrase (some see the whole community development movement as yet another means of social control through which potential critics are bought off by involvement in relatively harmless and limited areas of local activity).

The similarity between the work outlined here, and the Schools Council's Social Education Project (see Chapter 9) is striking. It raises questions about the feasibility of organising projects of this kind within the framework of voluntary leisure-time attendance with any but a minority of young people unless a considerable amount of preparatory work has been undertaken.

Participation and decision-making

The Milson-Fairbairn Report emphasised the importance of young people becoming actively involved in decision-making, both personally, and as members of groups in society. The latter activity inevitably raises questions about the amount of say young people have or should have in the running of youth centres and organisations themselves. Participation in management of this kind can certainly be seen as an experiential form of social education and one in which issues of power and authority will inevitably be important.

This is another example of the overlapping nature of developments in the Youth Service: while large parts of the service are still coming to terms with the Milson-Fairbairn recommendations, individual organisations and clubs have had membership participation in their government for many years.

One club which has operated a distinctive model of participation since 1959 is the Lyndhurst, in Kentish Town, North London. It was founded by a group of committed Christians with the intention of giving young people the opportunity of exercising and responding constructively to authority. Although the Management Committee is staffed by the adult volunteers and a few specialist consultants, the day-to-day running of the club is in the hands of the Members' Committee, on which adults are in the minority, and never in the chair. One adult, known as the Team Adviser, is paid by the Inner London Education Authority as the club "leader", but does not see herself in that light. The Members' Committee makes the rules, organises any activities that occur, and controls the finances. The Chairman signs the cheques, including the salary of the "leader". The adult volunteers' role is to implement the policy as it has been determined.

This system has been maintained for twenty years, not with a middle-class clientele, but against a background of violence and poverty. Individuals on the Members' Committee have regularly pilfered the funds, and been involved in trouble with the police outside the club. In the late 1960s, when youth gangs were a feature of North London life, not only the club but the Members' Committee was taken over by a gang. Considerable damage was continually done to property at this time. Despite all this, the club has not only continued to exist but has continued—with sporadic ups and downs of membership—to attract older working-class boys who are untouched by much youth provision.

An unpublished study of the club includes comments of ex-Chairmen and committee members which make it clear that some, at least, of them learned, through experience, something about decision-making and authority:

"Being Chairman helped me to be more secure in myself and gave me a lot of confidence. It made me think and feel that I can make decisions even when I am reluctant to. I think back to the time I was making decisions regularly and that taught me a lot."

"It was difficult with your mates. They used to think one was a rotter. But people who got banned did feel they had to change..." (quoted in Grubb Institute, 1973, pp. 21, 16).

One can ask many questions about this fascinating club—about the boundaries of the members' autonomy, for instance. If they refused to pay the leader's cheque, what would the local authority do? And how much authority do members not on the committee feel they have? Some youth workers I spoke to felt this system gives too much power to too few members too quickly. They thought that a more educative and less bureaucratic process would be to involve members as soon as they joined in some limited degree of decision-making (planning an activity, for instance) as a first step, and then gradually to build upon this. The "leader's" reply to such comments is, "if you wait until they are ready for responsibility, you will wait for ever".

Another example of a club which has evolved a democratic form of government is Bedminster Boys' Club in Bristol. Here a "Parliament" open to all the members meets monthly to make decisions on all features of club life, including finances. It elects an Equipment Committee which meets weekly to hear requests for equipment and to authorise purchases (Long, 1979).

Two larger organisations which operate mainly through member control are the National Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs and the National Federation of 18+ Groups. There are interesting differences between their structures. Whereas the National Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs has a number of paid officers at national level, the National Federation of 18+ Groups has only one full-time paid member of staff, the

Administrative Secretary: all the other national officers are elected by the Annual National Conference, and serve in a voluntary capacity. The difference is reflected in the degree of outside influence the organisations wield: the National Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs has acted as an effective pressure group both in this country and in Europe; the National Federation of 18+ Groups raises a considerable amount of money for charity and is represented on some national bodies, but otherwise is more concerned with its own organisation and its own internal activities.

At local level, members of both organisations elect from their number a committee and officers who manage the affairs of the club and plan the programmes. The actual degree of self-determination in individual YFCs may be affected by the County Organiser, who has a broad educational remit, and can interpret his or her role fairly freely.

Both organisations have special features which may have facilitated their democratic structures. Members of YFCs are bound together by their vocational interests, and their Federation has the backing of the agricultural industry. Many of the activities will be relevant to members' working lives, and this may increase their commitment. 18+ Groups, as their name suggests, cater for older members, many of whom have professional qualifications. It is easier for them, therefore, to take on national posts without special training or support—although the amount of work required is considerable.

The relative scarcity of such examples prompted recommendations from the Youth Service Forum which resulted in the establishment, in 1979, of a three-year project, entitled "Young People and Decisions", funded jointly by the Department of Education and Science and the National Council for Voluntary Youth Service. Its aims are to increase young people's personal decision-making skills, and to assist organisations to involve young people in their operation in order to promote a greater degree of participation. The project sees its role as advising and supporting youth workers in this area. Many requests were received for its first publications—a series of "definition documents" on such topics as "democracy", "political education", and "involvement and commitment".

Youth Councils. Another possible model of participation, this time in local affairs, is represented by Youth Councils. These are bodies intended to give youth a voice in the community. Some have been in existence since the Second World War, but a fresh impetus was given by the first Youth Charter Conference in 1977. Councils vary in their structure and function but most draw their members from a range of youth organisations, elect their own officers, and manage their own affairs. Some are supported by local authority grant. An adult worker usually acts in some kind of advisory or supportive role.

Ironically, while Youth Councils are viewed with suspicion by some as potentially activist, their members often express frustration at their powerlessness. They have tended to channel their energies into "good works" rather than acting as youth pressure groups. A cynic might say that membership is instructive, if not educative, in that it initiates young people into the token nature of much representative activity in present society. In 1979, however, a project was initiated by the British Youth Council and Youth Charter 2000 to investigate and encourage the development of local Youth Councils, and this project is concerned to clarify their roles and strengthen their base.

"Process of Enfranchisement". A third project with implications for the areas of participation and decision-making is 'Process of Enfranchisement' which is being developed by the Youth Work Unit at the National Youth Bureau. This unit's remit is to provide a service to mainstream youth work. Given the diversity which that encompasses, it was decided to concentrate on some process relevant to as many as possible of the young people within the Youth Service age-range. Between the ages of 14 and 21 (but particularly between the ages of 16 and 18) young people are progressively subject to a process of enfranchisement whereby formal rights are conferred upon them. At the same time, they develop their own informal version of enfranchisement which may incorporate, or conflict with, the formal process. The unit is involved in developing a curriculum whereby young people may be informed and helped to understand the implications of the new formal rights they are accumulating, as a way in to discussing their informal and individual progress towards adulthood. As a first step, it has produced training material for youth workers which both informs them about the rights of young people and confronts them with the tension between formal rights, "approved" behaviour, and young people's own perceptions of the options open to them. It seems likely that the project will be mainly concerned with working *through* youth workers in this kind of way.

Concluding comments

On the whole, "social education" in Youth Service literature is described as a process of personal growth in self-awareness and in relationships with others. There has been a persistent lobby for setting this personal growth in a context of social and political understanding, which has seldom been translated into practice (although the establishment of the projects discussed in the last section, and of the National Association of Youth Clubs' Political Education Project, suggest that a new impetus may be under way). Despite some change of focus under the influence of community-based work, the dominant model is still the client-centred one, with an emphasis on non-directive or individual change aims (see p. 52). The two major methods employed remain experiential learning and awareness-raising group-work. The first involves young people in activities considered socially educative in themselves—serving on the Lyndhurst Club committee, for instance, or walking on the fells. The second draws on a repertoire of skills concerned with personal interaction.

One consequence of the concentration on these methods of working is that it is very difficult to gain any overall impression of the *substance* of youth work. Things are very different in the school sector, where one is inundated not only by detailed syllabi but by materials-based projects. In contrast, the emphasis on *process* in the Youth Service makes its practice elusive. One source of clues seems to be the training materials produced for workers: it is significant that two of the current projects mentioned above are working at this level. The absence of easily-assimilated *content* must be one factor in creating the image of amorphousness with which the Youth Service is cursed.

There is a continuing tension in the service about where its priorities should lie. The debate, as the National Youth Bureau paper describes it, has been

"... between those who wanted the Youth Service to remain a universal leisure service with broad educational aims for the young and those who wanted the Service to be more concerned with (the) disadvantaged alienated. Or, to put it more tendentiously, between those who wanted to work with young people who readily accepted adult prescribed values and adult approved activities and those who wanted to work with youngsters who, at least temporarily, rejected or simply ignored those values and who wanted different forms of activity" (NYB, 1978).

The Department of Education and Science (1975) raised this issue in a discussion document on *Provision for Youth*, arguing that while main-stream provision should be the prime concern, the service should also work with others in a co-ordinated attempt to help the disadvantaged. This dual role was endorsed by the Youth Service Forum.

Nevertheless, the division within the service continues and is, I think, a highly significant one. For one thing, it is related to Bernard Davies' "schooling" and "welfare" orientations and shows that these are still relevant today. A broad range of provision concerned with inducting young people into adulthood needs to be supplemented by special programmes for the "unattached" or "disadvantaged" who stay outside. Both can be seen as methods of control which rely on changing individuals, rather than encouraging them to effect structural changes in society (for a fuller discussion of the Youth Service from this point of view, see Review Steering Group, 1978). As we have seen, some detached workers have found their intermediary position untenable and have moved out of youth work into radical community action.

Another way of viewing the division is as a tension between the *educational* aspect of the Youth Service and the *social work* aspect. The Youth Service, after all, shares with the social services a group-work focus for much of its training and practice, which means that its language ("client", "relationship", "awareness") is often nearer to social work than to school-based education. The Albermarle Report recognised this:

"Although the Youth Service has a defined part in the educational system, in some of its aspects, particularly in its pastoral function, it shades off into the welfare and social services" (Albermarle Committee, 1960, p. 356).

And the Milson-Fairbairn report actually used the phrase "(a) part-educational, part-social service" (Milson-Fairbairn Committee, 1969, para. 93). In that light, I feel it is not simply whimsical to suggest that the Youth Service's frequent use of the term "social education" is in part because it so conveniently (if vaguely) links these two aspects together. Any unfortunate resemblance to school is softened by the connotations of "social"; any over-balancing in the direction of case-work is corrected by the mainstream image of "education".

CHAPTER 3: SOCIAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

Introduction

When I began collecting evidence for this report, I assumed that most of the relevant work with adults would be in the area of social skills training, and there would be no need for a separate chapter about adult education. In fact, there is a wide range of social education provision for adults and the problem has been to avoid swamping the reader. While drawing parallels with work in the other sectors, therefore, I have concentrated here on aspects of social education which are less well represented in them (I have not, for example, written about O-level and A-level teaching in traditional subjects). I have also tended to explore areas through the use of a few examples, rather than attempting a comprehensive survey. The chapter examines in turn:

1. Traditional provision.
2. Formal, non-academic provision.
3. Community involvement.

The emphasis is largely on the public adult education sector, but some mention is made of the work of other agencies.

1. Traditional provision

There has been a long tradition in adult education of studies concerned with increasing understanding of social institutions and issues. Classes sponsored by University Departments of Adult Education and by the Workers' Educational Association in particular have had such a focus. Although the underlying goals may be similar to school work in this area, the differences are significant.

For one thing, adult education classes of this kind are seldom linked to an external examination. Nor are they constrained by the subject divisions of many school timetables or by departmental organisations. One result is that their focus can be either much broader or much narrower than most school provision: "What is History?" on the one hand, and "Disinfection and Quarantine: a Saturday Seminar on Postal History" on the other (both 1979/80 offerings at The City Literary Institute in London).

Moreover, as one looks through prospectuses, it becomes clear that some subjects which are relatively neglected in school find their way into adult provision. Politics, philosophy and psychology are cases in point. Examples of courses in "Marxism", "Politics in Society", "The Philosophy of Morality", and "Notions of the Self" are not uncommon (and not confined to London).

A feature of much of this work has been its relatively informal structure. "Part of the object of the course will also be to see where the course itself will lead itself", states the outline to "Psychology of Human Relations" in the University of Southampton's 1975/6 prospectus of classes for adults. Less dauntingly, WEA courses assert their commitment to student participation and discussion. In such classes the relationship between tutor and students, freed from the age-gap and the compulsory attendance inevitable in schools, has the potential of becoming a learning partnership. Not only may the course content be determined flexibly by tutor and students; the tutor may be able to act as a facilitator rather than as an expert transmitter of information (Fordham, 1975, p. 78).

An important factor in encouraging this kind of structure may be the students' own wish for social contact. One powerful motive for many who attend non-vocational adult education classes is the desire to meet people and have a chance to talk. I remember hearing an educationalist describe how he had looked round the other members of a group attending a course on "Great Victorian Disasters" and had realised that the common link between them all was loneliness. Turning the course into a radio series would have killed it for them; the social interaction was crucial. But the interaction should be integral to the exploration of the subject itself—it is not just about chatting in the tea-break. At its best, this kind of class can foster a social/intellectual interaction which many would consider an educational ideal.

If there is a parallel with school work it is perhaps with general studies in the sixth form. Here there is something of the same freedom from external examination constraints, which allows an opportunity for a cross-disciplinary study, or an exploration of one aspect of a subject. Sometimes at this level the teacher-pupil relationship becomes more relaxed—the age-gap is narrower too. It is important to note that both sixth-form general studies and this "traditional" branch of adult education provide for an educated minority. They usually assume some prior knowledge or at least a familiarity with academic language. Early school leavers never get as far as general studies; as adults, they are unlikely to opt for "Mythology" or the Sociology of Deviance" at their local education institute.

It would be wrong to imply that this area has ever been the *major* component of adult education. I have considered it first because it shares an academic focus which links it back to work in schools. But for at least the central decades of this century, adult education has been seen largely in terms of leisure pursuits, with a preponderance of non-intellectual activities. Flower arranging, Yoga and badminton are the usual stereotypes. Implicit in at least the first two of these examples is a bias towards middle-class life-styles. Local authority provision is often criticised on these grounds. Even where provision appears relatively "culture-free", attendance at non-vocational adult classes is not a common working-class activity. A survey of attenders at adult education institutes carried out by ILEA in 1969 as part of their evidence to the Russell Committee on Adult Education found that "more women than men attended; that students had a lower average age than the population of inner London and typically left full-time education later; and that of the students who were employed only 4 per cent. were semi-skilled or unskilled manual workers as opposed to 31 per cent. of the employed population of inner London" (cited in Newman, 1979, pp. 111–112).

The implications of such findings—that adult provision was in the main attracting the better-off educationally and professionally—were quickly grasped, and recognised as of general application. Over the past decade or so, the adult education sector has been actively concerned in re-examining its role, encouraged by both the Russell Report—*Adult Education: a Plan for Development* (Russell Committee, 1973)—and, more recently, by the first report of the Advisory Council on Adult and Continuing Education—*A Strategy for the Basic Education of Adults* (ACACE, 1979). From the many strands of development that have ensued, I propose to concentrate on two: formal (more-or-less) social education provision for the non-academic, and community-related projects. The distinctions are somewhat artificial and may become blurred.

2. Formal non-academic provision

The heading needs a little more explanation. All that is really meant by "formal" is planned courses and classes—in contrast, for instance, to some outreach work. "Non-academic" is used to denote provision that does not assume prior academic qualifications. I shall discuss two kinds of provision: that which has sprung out of literacy work, and is sometimes called Adult Basic Education (ABE); and that which (usually but not necessarily) operates at a slightly higher educational level but makes use of students' own experience.

Adult literacy and after. Lobbying for an adult literacy campaign was well under way when the report of the Russell Committee (1973) with its emphasis on the needs of the disadvantaged, was published, and gave

it extra impetus. The campaign itself—with its combination of broadcasts, referral services and local authority teaching networks largely staffed by volunteers (Hargreaves, 1977; Jones and Charnley, n.d.)—began in October 1975.

Although the adult literacy campaign falls outside the scope of this report, it merits comment for several reasons. For one thing, it has been the most substantial effort so far to reach those traditionally outside the adult education network. For another, it forced, and relied on, a *national* co-ordinated response. Every local education authority agreed to co-operate—an unprecedented event in adult education. The use made of volunteer tutors on such a scale was also unprecedented. Finally, even if literacy itself is not considered "social education" (and that could be debated), the campaign quickly revealed areas of ignorance and need which certainly do have social dimensions.

While studies of the campaign confirm what had already been suspected—that illiteracy does *not* necessarily correlate with disadvantage (Jones and Charnley, n.d., pp. 72f), some of the students who came into adult education for the first time in order to learn to read were found to have related vocational or social problems. Moreover, illiteracy does of course cut one off from the practice of a large number of coping skills—form-filling, planning travel routes, picking meals from a menu—and these will need to be learned as the capacity to read improves. A resource kit, *Pick and Choose*, produced for tutors and students by the Adult Literacy Support Services Fund in 1977, is a very good example of how literacy work shades in to life skills, basic education, call it what you will . . . Besides encouraging reading for understanding, the worksheets tackle questions of consumer choice ("the only way to decide whether to take up the offer or not is to know *exactly* what the terms are") and raises questions about whether official language means what it says ("Do you believe that 'your co-operation . . . will help to keep down costs?'). *Starting Points*, a pack designed by the Adult Literacy Unit for tutors working with slow learners, similarly manages to avoid talking down to its target audience even when dealing with as complex an issue as "Theft at Work". These two packs are good examples of the growing collection of material at this level which maintains an adult tone and uses relevant examples drawn from adult life (another achievement of the adult literacy campaign).

The campaign encouraged both one-to-one and group tuition, and each system has its adherents. There has been a growing tendency to move learners into groups as soon as they have sufficient confidence, partly in order to draw on peer support. While some students are relieved to find that the teaching is not "like school", others, particularly older people, find it difficult to accept that informal methods can be effective. Adults do not always find the kind of teaching relationships described at the beginning of this chapter easy to adapt to—particularly if they lack confidence in their own ability to contribute.

Now that a base line, so to speak, has been established with literacy, interest is growing in the concepts of Post Basic Literacy, and Adult Basic Education—with the next steps in fact. This area is however proving much more difficult to demarcate and define. The ACACE report on the basic education of adults (1979) outlined a core content of verbal and communication skills, mathematical and number skills, and "coping" or "life skills". In relation to the latter, they suggest as typical areas of general knowledge: domestic management; knowledge of the main governmental and social service agencies; work-related knowledge; health and family relationships; and community-related knowledge (*ibid*, p. 20). Apart from the odd juxtaposition of "general knowledge" and "skills" here, the list bears a striking resemblance to social and life skills programmes for the young unemployed currently being developed in further education colleges and elsewhere. And, as contributors to the first issue of *Basic Education* (NEC, 1979) make clear, the ACACE formulation is attracting the same criticisms of social control and training in conformity as those social and life skills programmes do. David Head (1979) suggests, in place of the ACACE definition, that Basic Education should mean:

- take-off
 - taking responsibility for one's own learning
 - discovering new 'basic' requirements to be met (including peace of mind and restlessness of spirit?)"
- (p. 17).

Clearly, the adult version of the continuing battle to define "social education" in one's own terms is now joined. Meanwhile, ABE *provision* grows slowly and piece-meal, especially in the current climate (compared with social and life skills courses for the young unemployed, it is minute).

"*Adult life concern*" courses. This cumbersome phrase is intended to describe a range of courses relevant to aspects of adult life which do not assume prior educational qualifications but do assume, and draw on, student experience. Shared, group learning is often an important feature of such courses. One of the pioneer broadcasting ventures in this field was the BBC radio course "Living Decisions in Family and Community". I propose to illustrate features of these courses through a discussion of "Living Decisions" and of some more recent Open University initiatives.

"*Living Decisions*". "Living Decisions in Family and Community" was a BBC course launched in 1973, and broadcast for three years. It grew out of the "gateway" provision for intending Open University students which the BBC had provided in collaboration with the National Extension College in 1970 and 1971. These earlier courses had combined radio broadcasts and correspondence material based on syllabuses designed specifically for adults. "Living Decisions" set out to make a similar kind of provision for adults at a lower educational level. The basic elements were a series of radio programmes and a two-part course book, both

related to a specifically devised O-level syllabus called "Family and Community Studies". The programmes presented a fictitious family whose members were faced with decisions ranging from how to spend an evening to whether to move with their firm or stay put and hope to find another job. The course involved the application of a variety of problem-solving strategies to such commonly-occurring issues. It was designed so that it could be taken by adults in their own homes. In addition, however, local education institutes and agencies were encouraged to run related classes, so that students who so wished could have the extra support of peers and of a tutor. In brief, by using as content the ordinary living experiences of most adults, the course hoped to attract those who might be daunted by syllabuses which either reminded them of school or appeared too advanced. Similarly, by devising an examination syllabus which included a course-work project, the course aimed to cater for those who needed qualifications but might find the traditional O-level examination syllabus and framework too school-based and too threatening.

There is no space here to do more than touch on some of the successes and failures of "Living Decisions". The BBC has published a retrospective study of it which makes interesting reading (Stephens, 1976). One of the most significant areas of concern was that it did not attract the audience for which it was designed. The evidence suggests that most of those who followed "Living Decisions" already had some form of educational qualification. A sizeable proportion, indeed, claimed prior qualifications at A-level or above. Several reasons external to the course itself can be cited—poor co-ordination of publicity, for instance, and the use of inappropriate radio networks—but the fact remains that a central objective was unfulfilled.

Some of the criticisms students and tutors made of the course itself may be related to this fact—criticisms that the programmes were "childish" for instance, or that the incidents selected as examples were trivial. Also, those used to O-level teaching—and many of the students obviously were—found the lack of information and the emphasis on process disturbing rather than encouraging, as had been hoped.

However, there were successes as well as failures. Many of those that stayed with the course expressed their conviction that it had increased their confidence in their ability to think and plan. In particular, the "study in depth" for examination candidates which comprised an original enquiry into a community issue involved students in applying the strategies they had learned in a way they found satisfying and exciting. In comparison with the current orientation of much social and life skills work, the "non-remedial" approach of "Living Decisions" is a particularly interesting model. There was no assumption that participation in the course implied previous *failure* in decision-making. When I visited a class (a few were still running in 1979 using the course-book even though the broadcasts were long over) the whole atmosphere was one of learning among equals. This was despite the fact that from casual conversation it was clear that several members *did* have personal difficulties over decision-making, and had chosen to join for that reason.

But perhaps the greatest strength of "Living Decisions" in practice was the experience of group support it provided. However "educated" its audience was, many were coming into adult education institutes and into the experience of group discussion for the first time. This was particularly true for women: a high proportion of "Living Decisions" students were married women, many of whom were not working outside the home. Reports and individual letters attest to the encouragement students gained from working together on the problems raised in the course. One particularly significant development occurred at Rowlinson Adult Education Centre, Sheffield, where a group felt sufficiently motivated by their success in "Living Decisions" to tackle an Open University foundation course, provided that they were able (as they were) to stay together as a group and keep their original tutor for their first OU year (Fielder and Redmond, 1978).

The BBC followed "Living Decisions" with a course on rights and responsibilities called "What Right Have You Got?" (Salkeld, 1979). This again can be said to have failed to reach an educationally inexperienced population, but to have succeeded in motivating those it did attract to pursue enquiry-based methods of learning and to involve themselves in community affairs. Again, group support was found to be extremely important.

Open University Community Education courses. In 1977, the Open University presented their first Community Education courses. In contrast with the undergraduate courses, these new offerings are shorter, non-certificated (except for a Letter of Course Completion) and aimed at the general public. Their focus is on information and decision-making related to aspects of personal and family life, rather than on policy or theory. Courses have been produced in such areas as energy conservation, consumerism and health, but this brief account will concentrate on aspects of the two first parenthood courses: "The First Years of Life" and "The Pre-School Child", developed in collaboration with the Health Education Council and the Pre-School Playgroups Association. Each course is eight weeks long.

The prime target audience for these courses includes expectant parents and parents with children in the appropriate age-range. On registration, students receive a set of books in magazine-style, copiously illustrated; a resource-pack of supplementary information and materials; records; and optional, computer-marked assignments. Television and radio programmes accompany the courses. In addition, students have the option of joining local self-help study groups.

Particular care has been taken both to integrate this learning package and to distinguish the special characteristics of each medium. The television programmes, for instance, carry relatively little information about child development (that is better conveyed in print) but concentrate on observation of children's behaviour and on interaction between parents and children. Viewers are often given tasks in relation to televised

sequences—asked to spot a certain number of different kinds of attention-seeking behaviour, for instance—in a way which reinforces the emphasis in both courses on enquiry-based learning as well as on information-transmission. Moreover, parents' own experience is a constant point of reference.

That experience is drawn on particularly in the self-help study groups. These are set up by local co-ordinators who put would-be members in touch with one another, and are encouraged to take on an "enthusing"/animateur role. Most groups remain in existence only as long as members are involved in the courses but a few continue to meet for practical (e.g. setting up a play-group) or social reasons.

To the usual problems of attracting an educationally inexperienced audience is added, in the Open University's case, the cost of registration, and on the whole students are drawn from the better-educated section of the population. However, in an attempt to make "The First Five Years of Life" more accessible, the Health Education Council has sponsored a number of "free places" for those parents who would benefit from taking the course but cannot afford to do so. In addition, there is evidence of a considerable amount of "informal" study by groups and individuals other than registered students, and the Van Leer Foundation has awarded the Open University a grant to explore the use of the course materials in community development projects with disadvantaged parents.

Like "Living Decisions", therefore, and a range of one-off courses in institutes all over the country, "The First Five Years of Life" and "The Pre-School Child" acknowledge and build on the life-experience of adult students. More emphasis is placed on reflection and enquiry than on the acquisition of factual information. These courses are related to the personal and social concerns of adults and both that focus and their emphasis on self-help group learning link them with the community involvement developments which will now be discussed.

3. Community involvement

Over the last ten years or so, new topics have been reflected in the prospectuses of adult education institutes. A recent scan produced the following examples: welfare rights (several); inner city problems; community self-help. The brief descriptions imply that the emphasis is often on practical action: finding out how to approach the council, for instance, rather than learning about its structure. There is also a growing interest in local issues. In *The Poor Cousin*, Michael Newman (1979) gives a graphic account of the way adult centres in London have responded to social and community pressures on them to broaden the base of their provision. He gives examples of early courses in welfare and civil rights, several of which sprang from approaches made to the centres by local groups.

Besides changes inside the institutes and centres, the 1970s saw the development of new styles of work for adult educators, notably "outreach". Although the term has become over-used, it usefully conveys the sense of operating away from base which is central to the concept. Pioneers in this work were Keith Jackson and Tom Lovett who were both involved with the Liverpool Educational Priority Area Project in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Keith Jackson, at the Institute of Extension Studies at Liverpool University, was particularly concerned with training; while Tom Lovett, as WEA tutor-organiser, explored a number of ways of working directly in the community. Lovett describes, for instance, helping a group of mothers who met as an informal discussion class linked to a bingo session to form themselves into a claimants' union. He also translated town planning jargon for one residents' group and organised a short course on committee procedure for another. He comments:

"Much of this type of work depends on the ability to recognise the occasion when adult education can be of assistance. Most residents' groups do not realise that many of their problems are in fact educational and that educational assistance is something they can call upon. It is necessary therefore to attend meetings of residents to make oneself known and accepted so that when the occasion arises such assistance can be offered" (Lovett, 1971, p. 5).

The last sentence in this quotation provides a good rationale for outreach work. By operating in the community, tutors not only become more aware of needs for their service (which they may be able to meet either on the spot, or back at the institute): they also make the nature of what they have to offer more explicit to those who would otherwise see no immediate relevance for them in adult education.

There are similarities here with the role of detached youth workers and their growing involvement in community development. One difference seems to be that on the whole adult educators are concerned to identify group needs or demands, whereas the clients of detached youth workers are often individual young people who may need to be formed into a group. But many of the tensions in the work are similar. Newman explores the problems for the adult educator which are inherent in moving away from "safe" academic or leisure provision into areas of public controversy where "neutrality" and "balance" are impossible to maintain. He also exposes in a very useful way the different meanings attached to the term "community". His definitions range from "community equals the working class" through "community equals the quiescent poor" to "community equals society" (Newman, 1979, pp. 197 ff). It certainly has to be recognised that espousal the cause of "community development", whether by a youth worker or an adult educator, leaves open all the problems of who is to be helped and how.

Despite these problems and the general vagueness of the concept of "community", marked changes can be seen in the adult education sector in the direction of closer involvement with the locality and response to demand. The *tone* of the paragraph below from the 1976/7 brochure of Addison Adult Education Institute (ILEA) is indicative:

"Adult education is a community service. As well as providing a programme of leisure learning we provide educational support to local community and welfare groups ranging from singing for the Red Cross Over Sixty Club to English classes in a laundry, to rights courses for a local action group. If you feel there is a way in which we can provide educational support for your community group, please contact us and we will do our best to help you".

Adult education still has problems in attracting those whose earlier educational experiences have been unsuccessful and alienating. But the *will* is now there.

Other initiatives. It would be wrong to leave an account of community involvement without mentioning the contribution made by organisations and groups outside the statutory adult education service. In recent years, all kinds of community groups have sprung up—some short-term and self-financing, others with local or national grants to support them. Some have a specific focus (for or against some local issue, for instance); others take on a more general role as animateurs—concerned to stimulate a sense of community. One of the best-known community groups and one which combines community involvement with a wider training and development role is Inter-Action, founded in 1968 by Ed Berman in North London. Inter-Action is concerned with a wide range of projects with social education implications. It has pioneered community arts work, including street theatre and participatory games, and set up city farms which give children and adults a taste of rural activities. Its "Community and Co-operative Education" division commissioned "Production Line", a training scheme which aims to develop in young people the basic organisational skills needed for co-operative working (see p. 91). Another division has developed training in video-work with community action groups. Inter-Action also acts as a training and advisory centre for others in the fields of community arts and action. Criticised by some for courting publicity excessively, and by others for imposing its programmes on a largely apathetic Kentish Town, Inter-Action nevertheless seems to have the strengths of its defects. It does attract considerable sources of funding which allow it to keep a large number of projects running at any one time, and its energy and enthusiasm are impressive.

Concluding comments

Until relatively recently, adult education work could have been seen largely as being concerned with the provision of leisure activities aimed at broadening the mind, keeping the body fit, or practising a range of crafts. Some attempts were made to compensate for schooling deficiencies (literacy classes have a long history in several local authorities). Over the last ten years or so, considerable changes have occurred. Some of these, as discussed above, have paralleled developments in other areas. There has also, though, been a growing interest in the particular learning needs of adults, encouraged by such texts as Jennifer Rogers' *Adults Learning* (1977) which has undoubtedly been influential in developing teaching and tutoring styles with new kinds of adult learners. Perhaps the most important development has been the recognition of the value of group support in learning.

It is impossible to write at any length about adult education without mentioning its financial situation. The fact that much of the good practice mentioned above is still spasmodic and piece-meal is in large part a question of scarce resources. The brave words about Adult Basic Education may come to almost nothing if current (1979/80) trends in cut-backs of services continue. Some of the examples above may already have been axed. It must be a tribute to the service that it has been able to do so much on so little—but that is no reason to expect it to do more on less.

CHAPTER 4: TRAINING IN PERSONAL INTERACTION

Introduction

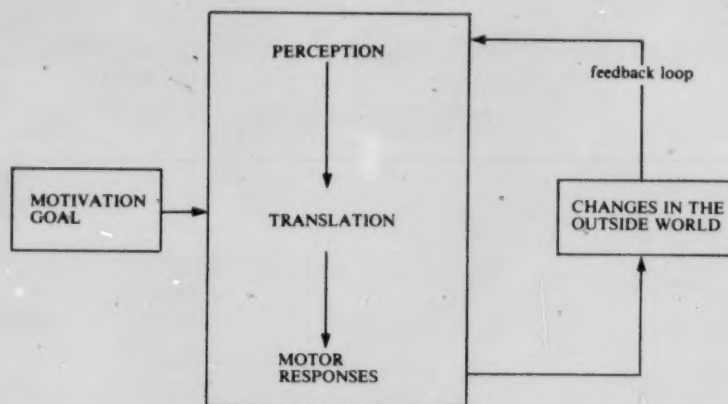
A considerable amount of work, both theoretical and applied, has been undertaken in the field of personal interaction. What follows is not a full description of all the different methods and approaches in the field. Instead, the area is divided into two parts: social skills training, and awareness-raising group-work. I have outlined the background of social skills training and indicated some of its main features in relation to clinical and professional application. Awareness-raising group-work is very briefly described through the example of T-group training. Aspects of both areas will be explored further in Chapter 7. At this stage, the emphasis is on placing them in context within the general overview of social education.

1. Social skills training

There are conflicting accounts of the provenance of social skills training, but much of the development in this country can be traced back to the work of Argyle and Kendon (1967) in drawing an analogy between motor skills and social behaviour. Michael Argyle's model of the motor skill process, significantly now usually described as the *social skills model* (Figure 1), is still a basic reference-point.

This model has proved extremely useful in identifying specific causes for poor interaction. There may be failures at the *perception* stage, for instance: a person may misperceive another's motives or behaviour, perhaps because they are stereotyping them. Or they may be unable to *translate* their perceptions into performance because of inability to make decisions or to discriminate appropriate from inappropriate behaviour. Or they may have a very limited repertoire of *responses* at their disposal. They may also have *motivational* difficulties.

Figure 1: The social skills model



Source: Argyle (1967)

Besides the similarities with motor skills, Michael Argyle also noted several distinct features of social skills. These include the need to establish rapport with the other person, the need to motivate the person, and the performer's concern about the impression he or she is making. All, in fact, are concerned with the *human-ness* of the other in contrast with man-machine interaction—as Argyle (1967) says, “there is no need for the cyclist to impress the bicycle” (p. 100).

There has been continuing debate about the social skills model and about how it might or should be modified. It has proved difficult to find a way of making it interactional (i.e. able to reflect the fact that *two* processes of perception/translation/responses are at work) without making it over-complex. In a clear and useful paper, Pendleton and Furnham (1980) summarise some of the problems of the original model. These include the omission of any cognitive component to do with cultural traditions or knowledge of social rules and conventions, and the failure to reflect the influence of emotional states on performance. In its place, an interactional model is proposed which focuses on communication difficulties, and is based on work with doctors and patients (Figure 2).

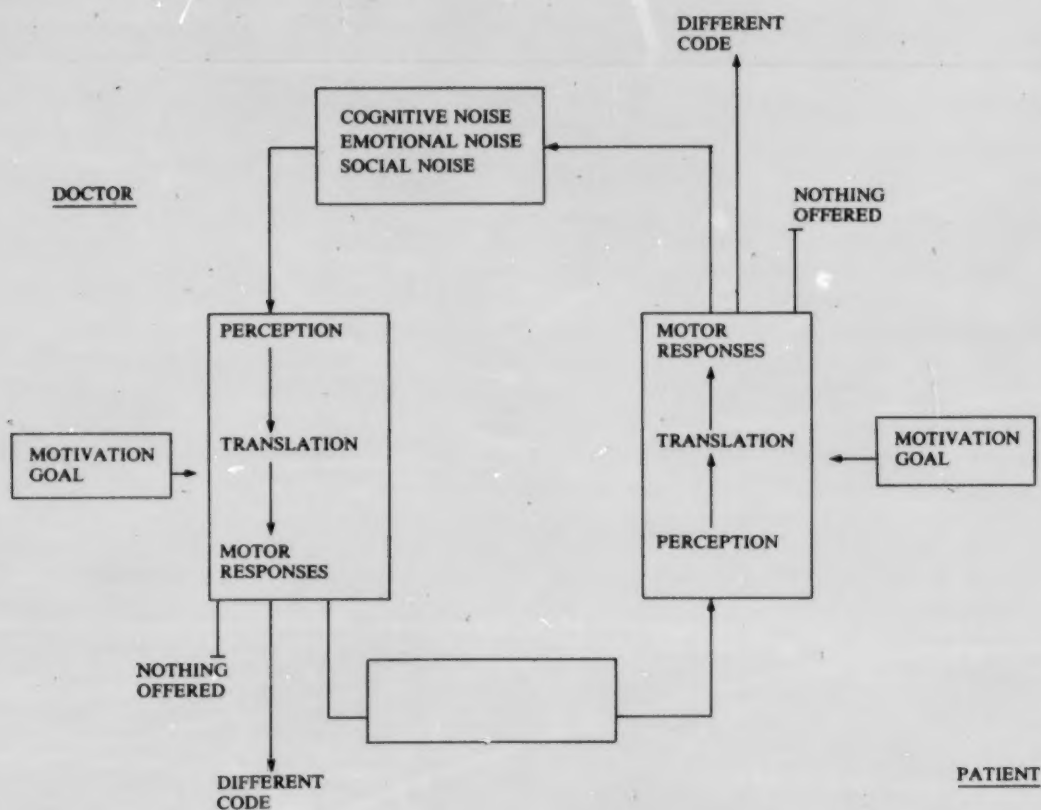
As it stands, however, the social skills model has formed the basis for the development of a considerable body of training. Interestingly, this has concentrated on the “morbidly unskilled” at one end of a continuum and the “super-skilled” at the other (Ellis, 1980). Before looking at both in more detail, some very general comments can be made about the kind of training involved. At this point, mention needs to be made about the confusion surrounding the term “assertiveness training” which is sometimes used, particularly in the United States, as though it were synonymous with “social skills training”. In Britain, however, assertiveness is, on the whole, seen as one of a *range* of social skills, and assertiveness training as only one element in the training repertoire.

Social skills training programmes commonly fall into three main phases: guidance and demonstration; practice; and feedback. The first phase involves the description of the piece of behaviour which is to be taught and a demonstration of it, either modelled by the trainer or on video-tape. Next, the trainee practises the behaviour in a context which simulates “real-life” as closely as possible. Feedback on his or her performance, which often involves play-back from audio- or video-tapes, follows.

Several features here are worth noting. One is the importance of modelling: some interesting work has been carried out on the effectiveness of different types of models (Trower *et al.*, 1978, p. 75). Another is the extensive use made of video-recording, the increasing accessibility of which over the last decade has had a considerable influence on the development of social skills training. A third is the need for considerable inter-personal skill on the part of the trainer at the feedback stage. Finally, the whole question of transferability of learning is crucial and complex.

Clinical applications. As stated above, one major branch of training has concentrated on people who are markedly deficient in social skills. Many have been hospitalised, or out-patients at psychiatric clinics. Trower *et al.* (1978) have discussed in detail the difficulties of defining social inadequacy with any kind of clarity. Nevertheless, there does appear to be a section of the population that most would agree fall into this category. Such people may not only be experienced by others as "inadequate", but may themselves experience considerable anxiety and unhappiness in social situations not generally considered excessively stressful—using public transport, for instance, or going into shops.

Figure 2: An interactive model of communication difficulties



Source: Pendleton (1979)

A training manual based on the social skills work developed at Littlemore Hospital, Oxford, forms part of *Social Skills and Mental Health* (Trower *et al.*, 1978). This manual covers a wide range of skills—including those of observation, listening, and planning. Each lesson deals with a single skill theme—"recognising emotions", for instance, or "controlling others"—and follows the demonstration/practice/feedback pattern outlined above. Patients contract with therapists to undertake homework assignments such as engaging in short conversations, and practising verbal and non-verbal responses. Homework has often been found to be an effective way of encouraging the practice of skills outside the training context. At one London hospital, patients are asked to join some form of social group or club before they start their training so that they are sure of finding themselves in situations where they can use their new skills. Training is usually carried out in small groups of about six; occasionally people may need individual treatment.

Evaluation of social skills training. A full review of outcome studies in skills training with clinical application has been undertaken by John Marzillier (in Trower *et al.*, 1978). There are considerable problems in an evaluation of this kind and the study is full of reservations. Nevertheless, it does conclude that social skills training can produce positive short-term changes in social behaviour, although the effects on in-patients are more marked than on out-patients.

Professional applications. The second major branch of social skills training has concentrated on people whose work depends on successful personal interaction—managers, doctors, and social workers, for instance. Melhuish (1980) has suggested that in dealing with such groups the emphasis may need to shift from developing skills to developing *motivation*—that is, to persuading the clients that interactive skills are important to them. In his own work with general practitioners he encountered considerable initial scepticism about the usefulness of social skills, and it was only gradually and through observation of video-recorded surgeries that his trainee GPs came to accept that accurate diagnoses could depend on the doctor's sensitivity to cues given by a patient. This parallels Pendleton and Jaspars' findings that doctors tended overwhelmingly to attribute the cause of communications problems to factors *outside* themselves (cited in Pendleton and Furnham, 1980).

A considerable body of work has been carried out at Ulster Polytechnic in training for such "interpersonal professions" as social work, speech therapy, health visiting and teaching. The emphasis has been on micro-teaching methods—that is, on structured short periods of practice of specific skills related to the demands of the profession. The sequence of training sessions follows the pattern described earlier and considerable use is made of video-recording and playback (Ellis, 1980).

It is, however, with the area of industrial training, particularly of managers, that social skills development for professionals is most popularly associated. A variety of systems has emerged, each with its own adherents. Manuals, packages and courses abound. This tends to be an area of training "fashions", and factions. Underlying similarities can, though, be discerned. Most systems adopt the demonstration/practice/feedback model, or some close approximation to it. Most employ some method of *categorising* behaviours in order to raise trainees' awareness of how they interact with others, and suggest lines of change. It is not possible to do more here than outline a few examples (for fuller references see Rackham *et al.* (1971) and Pearn (1977a)).

Behaviour categorisations. One training approach which has been popular in recent years, especially in the United States, is based on Transactional Analysis and uses the Parent/Adult/Child categories of behaviour. American Airlines have developed a training package called TACT (TA in Customer Treatment) along these lines. Behaviour is categorised and discussed, and alternatives are explored through exercises and projects. TA can also be the basis for less structured group-work of the kind outlined in the second section of this chapter.

Another approach uses the instrument of Behaviour Analysis developed by Neil Rackham and his colleagues (1971). Through extensive research they identified different categories of interactive verbal behaviour. Examples include "proposing", "supporting", "shutting-out", and "disagreeing". Different preponderances and combinations of these can be correlated with degrees of effective working in particular situations, and with styles of management. For instance, in a group experiencing difficulty in working together there is likely to be a high incidence of disagreeing, criticising, shutting out, and defending/attacking behaviours. On an interactive skills training course, within a framework of inputs and group tasks related to work situations, an analysis is made of the behaviour employed by each member in group sessions. Analyses are posted daily, so that members can monitor the effectiveness of any attempts they make to change their styles of working. All have a final individual session with one of the course tutors to assess their interactive style and its appropriateness in relation to their goals.

Self-organised learning. Limited use has been made of both Transactional Analysis and Behaviour Analysis with students in further education. Another approach which is currently attracting the attention of trainers of adults and has clear application to other sectors is "self-organised learning". Here, the emphasis is on the process of learning, rather than on any pre-planned teaching/training system. Trainees are encouraged to become aware of the way in which they, as individuals, learn, and to become their own sources of evaluation and feed-back. At least one Industrial Training Board is considering the adoption of an approach of this kind. The Centre for the Study of Human Learning at Brunel University has developed the technique of "learning conversations", in which a student reflects aloud on his or her learning progress, describing thoughts and motives at key points, guided by a facilitating rather than instructing tutor (Harri-Augstein and Thomas, 1979).

Criticisms and counter-arguments. Social skills training is criticised by its opponents on several grounds. Some describe these kinds of methods as "impersonal". By that seems to be meant both that the training process may be so structured as to ignore the human-ness of those undergoing it, and that the training itself may concentrate on behaviours to the neglect of feelings. Another ground of criticism is that the whole approach is *over-normative*. Situational analysis, whether of parties (to help socially inadequate patients manage them better) or of board-meetings (to help chairmen do the same) seems somehow to reduce the possibilities in human interaction. Helping people to act "appropriately" in such situations is a further step in the normative direction, and can be seen as prescriptive. Trower *et al.* (1978) are concerned to meet this point as it relates to patients or near-patients:

"Those who show unusual social behaviour but are otherwise socially at ease or happy may be

accepted as eccentric rather than inadequate. Such people provide colour to our lives, and we are not suggesting that this behaviour should be eradicated" (*ibid.*, p. 56). But in its very attempt to reassure, this statement paints a disquieting picture of a general homogeneity of behaviour enlivened by a few "licensed" eccentrics.

Finally, social skills training is sometimes attacked as being *manipulative*. Two meanings are subsumed under this term. According to the first, the training manipulates the clients by changing them according to goals which they may not have chosen. The second really refers to the *ends* of some forms of training—i.e. that they help trainees *become* manipulative in their role as salesmen or managers.

Some of these criticisms may stem from the social skills model itself and its origin in the study of man-machine interactions. Pendleton and Furnham (1980) emphasise the need for social skills training to go beyond the model and to take into account both cognitive and affective elements in assessment and training:

"Training can improve the ability to recognise emotions by observing carefully the verbal and non-verbal messages in interaction. Training can also improve the ability to recognise emotions which lie behind and motivate paradoxical modes of behaviour, for example, the fear and insecurity which can often underlie a verbal attack" (*ibid.*).

As for fears that the training process is impersonal in the sense of *unfeeling*, trainers of trainers emphasise that this should not be so. There are constant references to the need for trainers to be socially skilled and highly sensitive—particularly when giving feedback, whether to patients or professionals. It is significant that, while it is relatively easy to train people to collect Behaviour Analysis data, training them to discuss it with clients is much more difficult. While trainers of social skills trainers may doubt the effectiveness of psychotherapy, they tend, like the therapist, to see the qualities of warmth, empathy and genuineness as key.

Most trainers would assert that, however prescriptive some forms of social skills training may seem, they merely enlarge the range of possible behaviours in their clients, and increase their awareness of the ways in which others behave. Advocates of Behaviour Analysis, for instance, claim that their objective is to help their clients achieve their goal in interacting with others, not to suggest what that goal should be. It is for the clients to assess what behaviour will be "appropriate" (i.e. effective) for them in any given situation. Self-organised learning appears to be even more non-directive. Indeed, it also marks a progress away from the model usually associated with professional training—from what Ellis (1980) calls the curriculum approach:

"Curriculum approaches provide a course to meet the need of an identified group, for example, teachers, salesmen, social workers or managers: individuals undergo a course of training determined in large part by the group to which they belong. Clinical approaches, on the other hand, are geared to the needs of individuals and are conceived as a form of therapy: each client/patient is diagnosed and undergoes training as considered appropriate" (Ellis, 1980).

Within these terms, self-organised learning is clearly moving nearer to the clinical approach, though without the connotations of therapy.

Across the whole area a trend is discernible away from what is sometimes called the medical model of inadequacy/diagnosis/cure by an expert. One of the great strengths of social skills training, it seems to me, is its potential for explicitness. This not only means that learners can (and should) know exactly to what they are committing themselves; it also makes it easier for them to use the tools themselves—to monitor their own behaviour, for instance, according to the categories of Transactional or Behavioural Analysis. In this way they may indeed become responsible for their own continuing learning.

2. Awareness-raising group-work

Although distinctions in this area are difficult to maintain there are types of training in interactive skills which differ significantly from those already discussed. Broadly speaking, they may be categorised as awareness-raising methods, or small-group techniques. Again very broadly, they aim to increase the individual's awareness of unconscious processes in himself and/or in a group in a way which may bring about changes in his behaviour. They have more in common with psychotherapy than with behavioural psychology.

One example of such a method is T-group training. A T-group usually consists of six to ten members who meet together for a set number of sessions with a trainer. The crucial feature is that the agenda is to study the behaviour of the group itself—there is no other task. The trainer's role is to draw attention to developments in the group, and to make interpretations: he is not, in any usual sense of the term, a leader, and he is likely to remain silent for long stretches of time.

T-groups provide an opportunity for their members to study behaviour as it occurs and as they experience it. They are also a framework in which behaviours can be tried out and in which feedback, more often from other members than from the trainer, can be received. Typically, members experience very intense feelings of frustration and anxiety in early sessions about the lack of task and leadership but grow to trust each other and experience the group as a positive entity as time goes on. The goals of T-group training have been described as:

"—increases in sensitivity—the ability to perceive accurately how others are reacting to one's own behaviour.

"—increases in diagnostic ability—the ability to perceive accurately the state of relationships between others.

"—increases in *action skill*—the ability to carry out skilfully the behaviour required by the situation. Action skill implies the ability to carry out a range of different behaviours and thus requires flexibility in choosing the right behaviour from a range of possible behaviours" (Smith, 1969, p. 3).

The learning is considered to come about via the feedback from group members, and via the understanding of processes received through the trainer's interpretations.

Even from such a brief description it should be evident that the *experience* of being in a T-group is very different from that of taking part in most kinds of social skills training. All those who have participated agree that it has a very powerful impact. A few find it intensely distressing; most feel that they have gained in confidence and social skills. Whether such gains can reliably be predicted is unclear from the various evaluations so far (Morgan, 1971, pp. 24ff). Particularly problematic is the question of transfer:

"... the situation is very oddly designed from the point of view of learning social skills, since the group is engaged on the very peculiar task of studying itself. There is no reason to expect that the social techniques which are successful here should work in other group situations—they would only work in other T-groups" (Argyle, 1967, p. 194).

In reply, advocates might argue that the intensity of the individual experience may result in lasting changes which go beyond "social techniques".

T-groups originated in the United States in the late 1940s. In England, some of the most influential work to have developed from this model has been based at the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations (Rice, 1965).

Other somewhat similar training methods exist, but the T-group illustrates, I think, the main features of this approach. The emphasis is on self-awareness and group process. The training involved is in *sensitivity* rather than *behaviour*. This kind of training has been given a very brief treatment here, but it will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7 (under the awareness-raising approach) and in Chapter 12 in relation to the personal-development courses at Lindley Lodge.

Concluding comments

This chapter has attempted to outline the distinctive features of two main branches of personal interaction training: social skills training and awareness-raising group-work. The questions both raise about goals and methods will be explored further in Chapters 7 and 8.

A major strength of work in this sector seems to me to be its emphasis on course evaluation. The constant changes in training fashions referred to earlier are partly due to continual monitoring of the effectiveness of courses in relation to their objectives. Changes and refinements in the light of such monitoring are to be expected. The underlying assumption of "accountability" is a valuable component of training programmes.

CHAPTER 5: THE SOCIAL EDUCATION OF MENTALLY HANDICAPPED ADOLESCENTS AND ADULTS

Introduction

This chapter is not primarily concerned with the mildly mentally handicapped, who may be expected (except in times of severe unemployment) to find and keep jobs when they leave school. Its focus is the "moderately" mentally handicapped—a quasi-technical term which, for these purposes, can be taken to include the least able children in ESN (Mild) and the more able in ESN (Severe) schools. This is a population which is more likely to attend Adult Training Centres on leaving school than to be in open employment.

Many of those who work with the group in the social education area might indulge in hollow laughter at the thought that other sectors have anything to learn from them, except how well-resourced by comparison these other sectors are. All schools for the mentally handicapped have been the responsibility of the Department of Education and Science since 1971, and the proportion of trained teachers has grown steadily. The real problems occur in the Adult Training Centres (ATCs) which are provided by the social services departments of local authorities. The staff in these centres are known as *instructors*: they are not teachers, and the recognised qualification for their work (since the phasing out of the Diploma in the Training of Mentally Handicapped Adults) is the Certificate in Social Service. ATCs differ considerably in their aims and methodology. Most, however, involve the trainees in some kind of work—simple carpentry, packing bandages, assembling toys. For many centres, this work is their prime function, and if there is a rush on to complete contracts in time, students and instructors will not be able to be released for "education". ATCs vary in the amount of education they provide, and in the number of trainees they consider suitable for teaching. Nonetheless, it is now rare for centres to lack educational provision altogether, and many make a special effort to plan programmes for their younger trainees, particularly those in the 16–19 age range. In contrast with further education, resources for teaching are often desperately short, with recourse to fund-raising common. Not only are there few teaching materials available for the young adult; there is no money to buy them if they were to be produced.

However, the relevant sectors of education are beginning to be involved. Various forms of liaison between colleges and ATCs, including shared appointments, are being established. Special courses for the moderately mentally handicapped now exist in both further and adult education institutions (courses for ESN(M) school leavers have had quite a long history in some colleges). One advantage of trainees attending an adult education institute or college is the range of social learning opportunities provided by the sharing of facilities—canteen, library, lavatories, for instance—with other students.

Meanwhile, back at the ATCs, provision for social education is growing, and despite the occasional rumours about near-illiterate instructors, many skilled and sensitive educators are to be found. Overall, the situation is improving.

The need for coping skills

There is a growing recognition of the importance of social education—and particularly of coping skills—for the moderately mentally handicapped. Inability to manage the machinery of everyday life not only cuts this group of the population off from many social facilities and pursuits: it may eventually lead to hospitalisation, once their parents die. This was brought home to me graphically once when I asked why a group of trainees learning bed-sitter cookery were labelled “at risk”. The answer was that they all had elderly parents. Hence, even if outside employment is unlikely, social training is crucial. The current emphasis on hostel placement, group homes and other experiments in community living offers the opportunity for near-independence if social competence can be mastered.

I was made aware of the amount of interest in this area when I was involved in pre-programme research for “Let’s Go . . .”, a BBC television series for moderately mentally handicapped young adults first transmitted in 1978/9. An early proposal was that the series should concentrate on social and coping skills, and opinion was sought from teachers and instructors on whether this should be the focus and, if so, what topics should be included. The response to the proposal was overwhelmingly favourable and a long list of topics was suggested. Among those which recurred were: using public transport; using public facilities (post-offices, surgeries, telephone); leisure pursuits; and personal hygiene. It is striking that these topics also occur in social and life skills for the young unemployed, and in basic education courses for adults. (Once the programmes were made, more than one teacher commented that although the *style* was obviously inappropriate for the non-mentally handicapped, the *content* was often exactly what was needed. A lecturer working with students on a Job Creation project, for example, considered showing them “Let’s Go and Eat Out”—a programme in which two young people order, eat, and pay for a meal in a Wimpy Bar—in order to break down their fear of going into restaurants in case they made fools of themselves).

Focus on practice at a basic level

The list of topics underlines, I think, one of the advantages (wry though it is) of work with the mentally handicapped. At least the absence of examination syllabi, training requirements, and employers’ stipulations allows teachers and instructors to concentrate on these very basic areas—like using public transport, for instance. Many ESN schools can devote the whole of the final year to preparation for life in the adult world, and can work in depth on developing their students’ confidence and ability in dealing with public facilities. Students in other schools might well profit from such training, but are unlikely to receive it.

Moreover, at its best, the teaching of the mentally handicapped emphasises skills practice in an imaginative way, using real situations where possible in order to ensure relevance and transfer of learning. There were, for instance, many interesting examples of follow-up work after the “Let’s Go . . .” programmes which involved students in practising the skills shown on the screen. After “Let’s Go and Telephone” one ATC sent trainees out in pairs to the local telephone kiosk to ring in with a message of their own which another trainee had to receive; a college group following the same programme went out to photograph different *types* of public telephone. Another ATC altered its lunchtime arrangements and established waitress service (using trainees selected by interview) in order to reinforce the behaviours shown in “Let’s Go and Eat Out”. Meals often provide learning opportunities: many schools and centres are organised so that groups can shop for food (keeping to a budget) and cook their lunches. In ways like this, coping skills can be taught both systematically and experientially.

Individual assessments

Another feature of the best work in this area is an emphasis on the assessment of the need of individuals and on the use of this assessment in the design of education and training programmes. It would be misleading to imply that this is always done, or always done well (there is a tendency, for instance, for instructors to under-rate trainees’ capacities). It can result, however, in a most impressive concern for students’ progress. I have visited one class, housed in a further education college, where the teacher worked on individual daily lesson plans for a group of about twelve students in accordance with her long-term programme for each. I also know of at least one ATC where training programmes for individuals are discussed by parents and staff together, with parents taking responsibility for some of the work (teaching a trainee to make a pot of tea, for example). These seem models of good practice with implications for other areas of education.

Inter-personal skills

It seems generally to be true, however, that mental handicap training has concentrated on coping rather than on social skills. Certainly "Let's Go . . ." followed this pattern, in spite of some requests for programmes about making friends, making social conversation, shaking hands appropriately, and so on. These areas were avoided largely because of the difficulties of treating them effectively on television. It may also be, though, that the influence of general uncertainties about how best to proceed in such areas was felt. Some very structured training (along behaviour modification lines) is found, but this is not by any means general. More often, staff seem to agree, for instance, "all to work with John about his habit of shouting", in a somewhat ill-defined way.

Some impressive intensive work in skills training, sometimes in the social education area, has been undertaken by one or more volunteers with individuals, usually adolescents or younger children. On the whole, though, more is probably done to encourage social competence through experiential activity than through structured training.

Experiential activity

Many schools and centres provide opportunities for participation in activities which have a social component. Groups are often taken on short residential courses which introduce students to the experience of being away from home and from their parents. Besides any "formal" educational work which may be undertaken, these courses play an important part in encouraging social interaction with peers, and independence. There is a long tradition of providing leisure activities—camping, sailing, climbing, for instance—and although it is sometimes felt that these are over-emphasised at the expense of coping skills, they do have a social value in increasing students' self-confidence.

There are also a very few examples of centres encouraging trainees to be involved in various forms of community service. This kind of activity allows a special kind of role reversal whereby those who have always been in a dependent position are able to offer help.

Areas of controversy

I used to feel that social education in this area was basically uncontroversial. While debate might range over whether or not YOP trainees should learn "job maintenance skills" or school children write to the local Council, no one disputed that the mentally handicapped should be taught to use the telephone. To some extent this feeling is justified, but only, I now think, because of the emphasis on coping skills which in general arouse less controversy than social interaction. One example of an area where coping skills have social implications is instructive. The programme "Let's Go and Telephone" dealt with the emergency number 999, showing it on the screen and explaining the circumstances of its use. This item aroused a not inconsiderable amount of criticism on the grounds that students would make nuisance calls and the police would be upset and blame the ATC or school. (Critics were annoyed when asked what students were meant to do in real emergencies.)

But the disagreement aroused by the emergency number seems trivial compared to the conflict which surrounds the issue of sex education. Here there are deep divisions among parents and professionals both about who should receive instruction in sexual matters (individuals "as required", or whole groups) and about the appropriate emphasis of such instruction (on the physical, anatomical facts? on the importance of loving relationships? on the inherent risks and the need for contraception?). Underlying all such arguments is a basic controversy about the rights of the mentally handicapped to sexual experience.

Concluding comments

This brief account has concentrated on areas of social education for this group of the population which have relevance for other students. Valuable lessons can be learned, I have suggested, from examples of good practice in coping skills training at a very basic level. There is also an emphasis on the assessment of individual needs which is seldom found elsewhere to the same extent.

On the whole, social education programmes for the moderately mentally handicapped are uncontroversial in their social adjustment aims. It is significant, however, that the issues which arouse concern tend to be related to the encouragement of independence and maturity. Perhaps at some level society still really requires the mentally handicapped to remain dependent.

CHAPTER 6: A NOTE ON FURTHER EDUCATION

A detailed overview of the social element within further education curricula is outside the scope of this report. Nonetheless, brief mention needs to be made of similarities with developments in other sectors.

At least two areas of work which have received some attention in other chapters of Part I are to be found in further education colleges. One is the preparation for O- and A-level examinations in academic subjects

with social relevance (e.g. history, geography, English). The other is training in personal interaction: in further education, this tends to be associated with courses for the "interpersonal professions"—youth and community or social work, for instance. In both these areas, the trends noted and comments made above (on page 15 about subject teaching and pages 28–33 about training) will generally hold true in further education, although—as always—differences both of institutional structure and of student population must be borne in mind.

The current interest in social education in the further education sector extends, however, well beyond these two areas. In large part it can be attributed to the growing recognition of the importance of personal and social factors in the work-place (see, for instance, EITB, 1970; ITRU, 1979). Moreover, both YOP and UVP schemes have been responsible for increasing the numbers in further education of students of modest school attainment who are either in low-level entry jobs, or are unemployed. Social education has become an important component of the courses offered to such students, partly because of further education's traditional concern for personal as well as vocational development, but more particularly because of the Manpower Services Commission's recognition of the likely relevance of social competence to their work, and to their chances of gaining employment. The emphasis is therefore very much on the social and life skills aspect of social education, with curriculum content being selected in relation to the needs of young people looking for work, in their first jobs, or in adult life generally. The consultative paper on vocational preparation for employed young people, *A Better Start in Working Life* (DES/DE, 1979, p. 7), names social and life skills as one of the three areas which any scheme should aim to cover, and—significantly—defines the terms in virtually the same words as the *Instructional Guide to Social and Life Skills* (MSC, 1977) which was intended as a guide to those organising courses for the young unemployed.

A similar emphasis on social and life skills development rather than on either academic study of social institutions or narrowly vocational training can be seen in other courses as well. *A Basis for Choice* (FEU, 1979, pp. 21–23), for instance, argues that there should be a core curriculum common to all full-time pre-employment courses and that it should emphasise personal and social development. The report recommends that the aims of the common core should reflect the consensus about the kind of general education to which all members of the post-sixteen age-group have a right, while specific objectives should relate to young people's future roles as citizens and workers. Again, the Business Education Council's adoption of "Communication and Human Relations" as the title for one of the compulsory modules of National Certificate courses suggests a rejection of the class-room connotations of "business English". While the emphasis is still vocational, the focus has widened to include considerations of the social context of communications.

This shift towards skills development with a broadly vocational orientation has had its influence on that part of the further education curriculum traditionally committed to personal and social matters—general/liberal studies. The role of general and liberal studies has been debated and disputed for many years, particularly as to whether the accent should be on work complementary to or contrasting with students' vocational programmes. In practice, a wide variety of schemes has existed, ranging from lectures on "Safety at Work" and "The Role of the Trade Unions", through topic-based courses of general preparation for adult life (contraception, mortgages, drug-abuse, etc.), to social science or literature-based studies. Impressive accounts of teaching programmes with personal, social and cultural elements are given by Page (1965) and Pransky and Flower (1968). In a different vein, Tom Sharpe's novel *Wilt* (1976) caricatures some aspects of the work with bitter accuracy. He also highlights traditional problems of the general and liberal studies teacher—the low status of his work within colleges, and the students' lack of interest in an area which neither they nor their technical teachers perceive as relevant or important. (There are interesting similarities here with many social and personal development courses in schools. Once again, the teachers involved are often non-specialists and the work not subject to external examination.)

In recent years a growing emphasis on social and communications skills has been discernible in this area. The establishment of communications workshops in ILEA colleges of further education has been a significant development. These provide a learning base where students can prepare, and later reflect on, activities outside the college which will extend their confidence and competence in communications skills. Singly, or in small groups, they can work on programmes related to an assessment of their own needs. Support for such developments has come from the examining boards. The City and Guilds' optional assessment for students on craft courses—the Certificate in Communication Skills—represents not only a move to extend examinations into the general/liberal studies area, but also an attempt to shape the work undertaken there. Similarly, the Technician Education Council's rulings that all its Certificate and Diploma programmes should include "general and communications studies", that these must constitute at least 15 per cent. of Certificate and Diploma courses, and that a student must obtain a satisfactory assessment in them in order to receive a TEC award, have had far-reaching effects. Although TEC has been at pains to emphasise that communications skills must be taught through *content* (thus not closing the door completely on old-style general studies), the shift in priority is evident.

These developments have had some instrumental advantages. Technical teachers, students and employers have been forced to take the general elements of vocational education more seriously, now that these elements are formally assessed. They are also likely to be more prepared to do so because of the increased vocational relevance of the work. Some critics feel, however, that the whole area is now over-dominated by work-related considerations, and that the criterion of "relevance" may be constricting. Both social scientists and English teachers are worried that the emphasis on skills may result in the disappearance of their traditional contributions in this area, and that "understanding" may be sacrificed to "competence".

What is undeniable is that social education is now a live issue in further education. Moreover, despite the prevalence of the "social and life skills" label, its meaning is still so open to interpretation that opportunities exist in this sector for the practice of all the approaches to be discussed in Part II.

PART II: APPROACHES AND PERSPECTIVES

CHAPTER 7: APPROACHES TO SOCIAL EDUCATION

Introduction

From the overviews of the previous chapter, a number of approaches to social education can be distinguished:

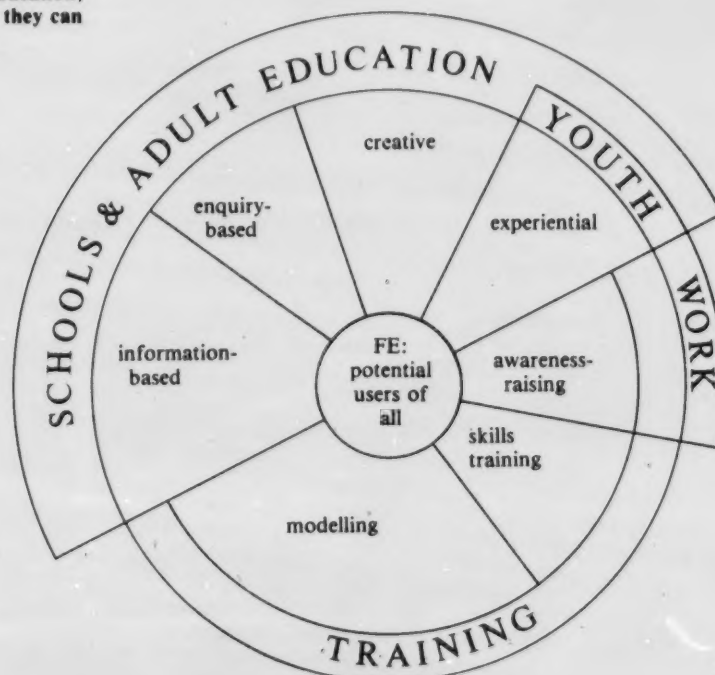
- information-based
- enquiry-based
- creative
- experiential
- awareness-raising
- skills training
- modelling

They may be described as *learning styles*, which proceed from different assumptions both about what needs to be learned and about how such learning may best be achieved. Different kinds of content and teaching method cannot, however, be neatly packaged under each approach: topics (e.g. the structure of the family) and techniques (e.g. role-play) tend to recur among them. Moreover, in practice, both published projects and individual courses tend to combine two or more approaches, as Part III will illustrate. Here, however, I am concerned to emphasise their differences in order to provide a framework for this very amorphous area. The examples cited in this chapter will therefore often be from *parts* of projects or *aspects* of courses. Some will be from the United States.

Several of the approaches, as defined here, are similar to the models of social and life skills development set out in the FEU report on *Developing Social and Life Skills* (FEU, 1980). The close relationship between that report and this piece of work has been described in the Preface. The difference of scope between the two (one considering social and life skills in further education, the other—this one—considering social education generally) may explain why the FEU models and my approaches are not identical.

Although none of the approaches is restricted to one branch of the education or training services each tends to be associated *mainly* with one or two, and to reflect trends which have been noted in the overview. Thus approaches which relate easily to academic subject-teaching are most often found in secondary education; those with an emphasis on relationships in youth work; and those with an emphasis on skills in training programmes (further education provision has the scope to employ all these approaches since it overlaps with work in all the other branches).

Figure 3: Approaches to social education, and where they can be found.



Very broadly, the education and training services and the approaches can be related as shown in Figure 3.¹ It should be emphasised, however, that these are the *traditional* relationships, and they are not fixed ones. As the overview suggested, for instance, more awareness-raising work is going on in schools than formerly. Some of the illustrative examples in the descriptions which follow will similarly reinforce the general point that approaches are not confined to particular areas of work.

Each approach is defined initially in terms of what it involves for the *learners* and for the *professional* (the term "professional" is used to include the whole range of people, usually but not always exclusively adults, who are involved in planning or delivering social education programmes).

1. The information-based approach

The information-based approach involves learners in the reception of knowledge and information with either theoretical or practical relevance in the social education area (e.g. the difference between mental handicap and mental illness; the function of a Prime Minister; the way to make an insurance claim). The professional is responsible for the transmission of knowledge and information.

The information-based is still probably the most common of all the approaches. Not only does it underlie much of the teaching in schools, and in adult and further education: it is also the *raison d'être* for text-books, learning packages, and informative radio and television programmes. The *need to know* in the area of social education is incontrovertible. Developments in social studies teaching in schools, and in community-based work with adults, have both proceeded from the conviction that without knowledge about, for instance, the structure of social and political organisations, people are vulnerable to exploitation and manipulation. Similarly, on a more practical level, it is recognised as important, for example, that young people should have access to information about the age at which they incur various rights and responsibilities (p. 22).

Despite the importance of knowledge and information, this approach can be over-emphasised. Much teaching consists of nothing but information-transmission, and many examinations test factual recall rather than critical judgement. There is still a popular assumption that the possession of facts (almost any facts) is proof of education and intelligence (cf. *Mastermind* and *Brain of Britain*). At a time when much information is quickly outdated, such attitudes are unfortunate.

One result of the over-emphasis on the transmission of facts and information has been its mis-application in areas where, for instance, behavioural changes are the goal:

"Many management and supervisory training programmes . . . aim to do no more than impart knowledge; it must be presumed that those who construct the courses believe that increased knowledge will result in improved interactive skills. There is no evidence that they do, which makes it all the more surprising that such approaches are still persisted with" (Morgan, 1971, p. 15).

Knowledge and information are certainly often *necessary* for attitudinal or behavioural change—but they are rarely, if ever, *sufficient*.

Another problem with this approach is its lack of learner-involvement. Traditionally, within the education system, knowledge and information are transmitted by a teacher in a lecture, or a format derived from that model. *Hard Times* highlights the flaws in such teaching methods:

"'In this life, we want nothing but Facts, Sir; nothing but Facts!'"

"The speaker, and the schoolmaster, and the third grown person present, all backed a little and swept with their eyes the inclined plane of little vessels then and there arranged in order, ready to have imperial gallons of facts poured into them until they were full to the brim" (Dickens, 1969 ed., pp. 47-48).

The learners are passive—the vessels into which information is poured. They are seldom encouraged to contribute knowledge or experience of their own. Moreover, since people's attention-span is limited, it is unlikely that they will fully absorb what has been transmitted.

There is also often a failure to discriminate between essential knowledge (why we have general elections) and useful information (how to apply for a driving licence). The responsibility of a social education programme should perhaps be to *teach* the first (though not necessarily through a lecture) but sometimes only to indicate where the second can be *learned*. Too often, information of this kind is not related to the present needs of learners. In schools, for instance, in an effort to prepare children for adulthood, all kinds of information are crammed into courses for early leavers which are likely to be useful in the future but are of dubious relevance in the present (mortgages leap to mind as an example). If there is little motivation to remember the information at the time, there can be no guarantee that it will be available when it is needed.

An interesting example of a way round this difficulty is a set of telephone tapes produced by the Counselling-Psychological Services Centre of the University of Texas at Austin. The Centre has made about two hundred of these short (5-8 minutes) audio-tapes. Some have a counselling slant, but many are purely informative. Each tape is numbered. They range from "What to Do if Your Car Has Been Towed Away" through "Cancer's Seven Warning Signs" to "University Resources for (Ethnic) Minority Students" and "Note-Taking". To hear a tape, one dials a central number and then asks for the relevant tape by number. Suggestions are made on the tape about where to turn for further help or information. The service is advertised

¹Since the social education of the mentally handicapped is related to a particular *client group* it has not been represented on the model. The skills training, modelling and experiential approaches are those most commonly used with this group.

in campus and local newspapers, and full lists are available. The tapes can be bought by other institutions; they are now held in several colleges and armed-forces bases in the United States.

Not only does this system ensure that information is available *when needed*: it also preserves the independence of the learners. They do not need to become the clients or students of another, or even to disclose their need for information or advice. The economy of the system pinpoints the cumbersome way in which the information-based approach is often implemented, and suggests the need to think along the lines of "information on demand". This could free professionals to concentrate on new methods of face-to-face transmission of essential knowledge and concepts.

Summary. The exposition of knowledge and transmission of information are essential components of any social education programme. But an approach which concentrates solely on them is unlikely to be sufficient. Moreover, formal methods of face-to-face transmission are often not satisfactory.

2. The enquiry-based approach

The enquiry-based approach requires learners to practise a variety of modes of enquiry through a search for knowledge or information in the social education area. The professional may possibly be involved in some direct teaching of strategy (e.g. how to construct a questionnaire); otherwise, the emphasis will be on facilitating and structuring enquiry rather than imparting knowledge or information.

Advocates of the enquiry-based approach tend to contrast it favourably with the information-based one, asserting that it adds to the mere acquisition of knowledge *processes* of thought and judgement which are of more lasting value. The learner is *actively* involved and is not solely reliant on the teacher as the source of information and approval.

Although the repertoire of ways of thinking which is developed through this approach is likely to relate in the first place to the distinctive modes of an academic discipline, there is a presumption that it will have a wider application. As the Schools Council information sheet about the History 13-16 Project puts it: "because the basic procedure in history is inquiry about evidence, (the project) gives experience of various analytical skills which may be used in other fields". Such other fields could presumably include everyday situations calling for the weighing of evidence.

The History 13-16 Project provides some very good examples of the enquiry-based approach and is recommended for further study. For instance, "The Mystery of Mark Pullen"—from the pre-examination kit for 13-14 year-olds called *What is History?*—presents students with a policeman's accident report on a young man found dead at the side of a road, and with the contents of the dead man's wallet. On this evidence, students are asked to construct hypotheses to account for the young man's presence in the neighbourhood, and for his death. There is, of course, no "answer" at the back of the book, but some probabilities can be established.

Projects differ in the degree to which enquiry-based learning is allowed to be unpredictable. In some cases, the information discovered and the conclusions reached can differ from student to student and cannot be pre-planned but the *processes* are pre-determined—e.g. *everyone* will need to collect and sift evidence before forming hypotheses. In other projects, however, it is not only the processes which are the common core: basic concepts or pieces of evidence need to be discovered if the aims of the course are to be realised (see pp. 70-71 for a discussion of "Man: a Course of Study" in this respect). Unless teachers and curriculum developers are clear about which of these methods they are adopting, enquiry-based projects can become very muddled.

Indeed, one of the chief problems with this approach is its difficulty for teachers. It demands a strong grasp, both of the modes of enquiry themselves, and of the overall aims of the course, if it is not to revert back into information-transmission or degenerate into exercises which are little better than quizzes aimed at discovering what the teacher has in mind.

Enquiry-based learning is also difficult to assess in other than a superficial way. As the evaluator of the History 13-16 Project points out:

"Pupil A can produce 'unacceptable' work simply because he is tying himself into knots over problems which Pupil B does not even know exist" (Shemilt, 1979, p. 86).

That project has been at pains to develop examination strategies in line with its enquiry-based approach. Another example of an examination which tests the application of enquiry methods is the CSE Mode 3 in Social Studies developed at Vauxhall Manor Girls School, ILEA, where the emphasis is on the ability to apply strategies and use evidence rather than on recall of information. Such consistency in following enquiry methods through into examination papers is still uncommon.

Finally, although many students enjoy the activity involved in this approach, it is a difficult one for some who are used to formal teaching with correct answers (see p. 73). As one student interviewed as part of the History 13-16 Project's evaluation said:

"It's better for teacher to tell you what to think and then learn it. You can't go wrong then". But another summed up the enquiry-based approach very well—and the (presumable) misprint adds to the effect:

"History makes you find out the information you need and you cannot get the perfect (sic) answer" (quoted in Shemilt, 1979, p. 83).

Summary. This approach focuses on the acquisition of a variety of modes of thinking associated with subject disciplines. It encourages active, critical learning, which in the social education area is likely to be related to the understanding of social structures and social issues. If it can be assumed that this learning is transferable to everyday situations, it provides a training in problem-solving and decision-making strategies. But it makes considerable demands on the teacher.

3. The creative approach

The creative approach encourages learners to express themselves through the practice and/or appreciation of the arts. The professional is usually responsible for the selection of study or stimulus material and for the development of student response, often through discussion. Some direct technical instruction (e.g. about how to use a camera or handle oil-paints) may be appropriate.

This approach involves the exploration and expression of feelings through the medium of the arts. The contribution of such subjects as English and drama in this respect is recognised in the comments of HM Inspectorate in *Curriculum 11-16* (DES, 1977, pp. 21 and 39):

"Literature is patterned experience; it enables us to see the familiar in a different light, and to extend imaginatively beyond the familiar. It uses language in order to refine and make more intense our response to experience".

"(Drama) is predominantly a means to explore social attitudes, personal relationships, inner conflict".

This approach spans both the appreciation of works of art and literature, and creative practice itself, since although there are, of course, important differences between them, both activities are concerned with the arousal and exploration of feelings. The approach is not purely *creative* in the sense of setting out to produce writers, actors or painters, nor *academic* in the sense of teaching an appropriate language of appreciation. Neither, however, is it solely *instrumental*—ignoring technique, and using the creative work as a cover for the discussion of feelings. A balance has to be struck between the subjectivity of student response, and a certain objectivity concerned with standards of appreciation and practice.

It is significant that those involved in using this kind of approach often emphasise the *discipline* of the medium. At the Cockpit Arts Workshop run by the Inner London Education Authority, for instance, the "animateurs" who form the staff see themselves as *arts* workers (rather than youth workers or teachers) and insist on high technical standards in the activities they initiate. The creative approach is not a question of "letting it all hang out": it is concerned with expressing oneself as *well* as possible which involves both a searching examination of feelings and a technical mastery of the medium of expression.

The Schools Council project on "Communication and Social Skills through Audio-Visual Media" sets itself such standards. Children in the pilot schools were not simply handed equipment and let loose, but neither were they encouraged to experiment with techniques for their own sake. The project is concerned with "the carefully guided creative use of audio-visual media by children", and the project team concludes that it "enlarges our expectations of what they are able to achieve" (Lorac and Weiss, n.d.). Although this project is particularly concerned with audio-visual work as a contribution to specific subject understanding, much of its work involves the expression of feelings, and its report—provisionally, but significantly called *Imagination and Technique* (*ibid*)—has much to add to a consideration of the creative approach.

One major strength of the approach is that it allows the exploration of personal feelings without insisting on direct disclosure. On the appreciation side, a novel like *Sons and Lovers* sparks off strong feelings about mother/son relationships which can be talked through in the context of the novel without students needing to discuss their individual experiences. Moreover, the novel itself has a part to play: it may introduce new perspectives and *extend* students' sensitivities through their identification with the characters. On the creative side, the student who writes a poem or paints a picture is involved in translating a private experience into a public statement. The process not only involves reflection on the original experience: it to some extent distances the experience by translating it into a "public language".

Another Schools Council project, "Art and the Built Environment", is concerned to develop—through school art departments—students' environmental perception: the way they observe and *feel* about places. Its director, Colin Ward, told me that his project had been welcomed by an academic town planner who told him that too few students of town planning or environmental design recognised that feelings had any relevance to their work. One of the project handbooks produced as issues of the *Bulletin of Environmental Education* is called *Sensing the Environment* (Goodey, 1977). In it, Brian Goodey outlines the idea of the sensory walk. One way of structuring this is by a pack of cards which contain instructions like See, Touch, Taste, Hear, Smell, Draw, Run, Imagine. Students draw cards from the pack while out on a walk. The sense cards in particular are intended to "act as a switch to the appropriate sense . . . HEAR paper rustling, birds, car doors, children shouting, SMELL chimney smoke, pipe smoke, chips frying, cement, diesel fumes . . ." (*ibid*, p. 9). The same handbook suggests asking students to identify places that make them feel happy, angry, lively, afraid, or at peace with themselves (*ibid*, p. 6). This project has a different emphasis from the examples mentioned so far. It is concerned to convince the student that the environment is an appropriate area to have feelings about—a prior stage, as it were, to examining the feelings themselves.

A final example of the creative approach is the work of one teacher, Colin Blundell, at Stopsley High School, Luton. As one of the post-examination options at the end of the summer term in 1969, he proposed

"Junk Art". Students, many of whom had studied English with him through the year, responded enthusiastically, bringing in bedsteads, carsprings, pipes, wire and other large, discarded objects. A walk-in construction called the Junk Palace was erected on a spare piece of ground despite considerable staff criticism. Through the experience of building the Palace, the students not only worked together with an intense enthusiasm (a feature commonly reported in such work): their interest in and appreciation of texture and design increased. Once built, the Junk Palace inspired improvised drama, poetry and music, the Palace itself being used as a musical instrument in the latter—bedsteads, carsprings and all. At the end of the term the construction was ritually burned down. The next year, a Maze was built and again became a focus for much creative activity.

One of the difficulties of this approach is the converse of its strength—the distance it interposes between the individual and the direct expression of feeling. It may take students some time to feel their way into the "public" language of creative expression. If that language is introduced as a very specialised one, it may be experienced by students as "precious", "arty", "middle-class". In addition, some of the activities may be perceived by adolescents as childish. Colin Ward reports that the cards described above are very successful with primary-school children and undergraduates, but not so popular in secondary schools. Colin Blundell, however, asserts that the largely working-class students in his secondary-modern class at Luton were not put off by the ideas about surrealism and Dadaism to which he introduced them as a context for the Junk Palace.

The teachers' role in such work is a complex one which in practice if not *directing*, tends at least to have a strong *guiding* element. Often projects which encourage creativity seem to be led by charismatic figures whose own enthusiasm for their medium is infectious.

The creative approach is currently rather out of favour, particularly with those planning social and life skills courses. As I have suggested, this is probably because of the aura of "arty-craftiness" and remoteness from reality which it can attract. Nevertheless, the drama and video work that has been done with YOP trainees by organisations like the Cockpit suggests that these may be good media with which to begin an exploration of feelings. Another major advantage of the approach is that it need not be dependent on literacy, and may allow students a freedom to express themselves that formal learning does not.

Summary. The approach encourages the practice of the creative arts, and/or their appreciation as a means of developing awareness of oneself in relation to others and to the environment. It can provide a context for the exploration of feelings without the threat of public exposure, but the approach will fail if the context is experienced as alien. Success may well depend on the influence of the teacher.

4. The experiential approach

The experiential approach involves learners in activities considered to be inherently socially educative. They may be able to choose the activities and have a hand in their organisation. Sometimes, reflection on what they have learned is a component of the programme. The chief role of the professional is a facilitating one. Whatever degree of control the learners exercise over the selection and planning of activities, the overall responsibility for setting them up and providing appropriate resources, liaison with other agencies, and back-up rests with the professional. He or she may also run sessions in which the students' experiences are described and discussed.

This approach implies that there is a range of activities which are worthwhile in themselves. The experience of participating in them will be a social one; social learning can be assumed to follow; and such learning may be transferred to other activities and situations. Examples of different types of experiential activities include:

- outdoor pursuits (see p. 18);
- community service (see p. 13);
- work experience (see pp. 13–14);
- community investigation/action (see Chapter 9);
- participation in management/organisation (see pp. 21–22);
- residential experience;
- tutoring/cross-age teaching (see p. 44).

The strength of the experiential approach lies in its directness: it is not preparation for activity; it *is* activity. Moreover, it is often activity unrelated to the academic focus of schools. Adherents of most branches of experiential learning tell anecdotes about disruptive or non-academic pupils, alienated or failing at school, who blossom unexpectedly in work experience, or community service, or tutoring schemes. Such activities help to break down the boundaries between social organisations, and alter expectations about the potential of young people.

Once again, the disadvantages are the reverse side of the same coin. The total nature of experiential activity makes it difficult to monitor or assess learning. There must always be an unpredictable element, since not all the factors in the situation are in the professional's control (unlike, for instance, social skills training). Students on work experience may learn how to pilfer or fiddle expenses. Less dramatically, others may be given boring, repetitive tasks to do, where learning is necessarily restricted. Moreover, if learning gains are not made explicit (and in this kind of experiential situation they cannot be) students may be unable to transfer their learning, and hence may become sceptical about the lasting value of the activity. There is also a tendency, discussed earlier, for the activity to take precedence in the organiser's eyes over the needs or interests of the student (see p. 18).

There are wide variations within the approach about the amount of self-determination given to students. They may have virtually no choices to make if, for instance, they are sent by their firm on a structured residential course which includes co-operative outside activities. Alternatively, they may be allotted to a strand of activity, but allowed within it to opt for one line of business in work experience, for example, or one kind of community service. Or they may, as in the Schools Council Education Project (see Chapter 9), be able to make decisions about activities within a very broad remit.

Similarly, once they participate in the activity they may find themselves:

- mostly submitting to another's authority, e.g. in work experience; or
- mostly responsible for the management of themselves and their peers, e.g. in outdoor activities and in management of organisations; or
- partly responsible for others, e.g. in community service, and in tutoring schemes.

Finally, the amount and degree of *reflection* on the experience which is encouraged and provided for varies widely. Where reflection is built in to a programme, transfer of learning is more likely and individual experiences are likely to be enhanced by being pooled.

Considerable reference has already been made in the overview of youth work to varieties of experiential learning. Two further projects will be described here as examples of attempts to prolong the impact made by experiential activities to ensure lasting learning gains. As United States programmes, neither could be included in the overview chapters.

The Wilderness School is a programme based in part on the American version of Outward Bound and designed for disadvantaged and alienated youth, particularly those in corrective institutions. Students contract to undertake a "wilderness experience" of up to 20 days which is followed by some form of new start—a job placement, a college course, a move away from home. Each student is supported by a link person from a social agency who also has to undergo a modified wilderness programme.

For the students, the "wilderness experience" takes place in remote country in Northwest Connecticut and includes backpacking, white water canoeing and rock climbing. The emphasis is on graduated challenge, with students discovering that failure is related to refusal to try. The environment encourages action and co-operation: if no-one builds a shelter, everyone gets wet. Students are confronted with alien surroundings and new challenges to be met as one of a group of strangers. The contention is that such an intense experience acts as a catalyst and shocks participants into a new appraisal of themselves and their capacities. One part of their phasing-back into urban life is a day's community service.

In the follow-up stage, students are counselled regularly by their agency officers who monitor their contractual commitments (which may include very specific objectives about, for instance, grades to be achieved in college courses or reduction of drug-use). Periodically, the Wilderness staff provide short courses and reunions as well.

Wilderness School is posited on the belief that the wilderness experience is essentially connected with the student's ability to achieve his or her contracted goals—that is, that learning *can* transfer. In this case, it is particularly attitudinal change related to enhanced self-image which is the aim. The programme is ingeniously constructed so that the different elements reinforce each other. Initially, students tolerate the idea of the wilderness because they want the new job or college course; later they may persist with the latter because of the confidence provided by the outdoor experience. The programme has been established for about ten years now and I understand that follow-up studies indicate a satisfactory rate of success (a reference point for the project is given on page 92).

The second example "Exploring Childhood" is very different, both in aim and in methodology. Developed by Education Development Center (EDC), the agency which produced "Man: a Course of Study" (see Chapter 11), it is a curriculum which combines practical work with young children (a minimum of four hours a week is recommended) with the study of child development. It is designed for students of about 14–18 years old, and depends on the interaction of three central elements: the students' sense of self (influenced by their reflections on their own childhood, and their experiences of being in charge of others), the practical experience, and the project materials. The latter include booklets, records, filmstrips and posters, which make up three modules: "Working with Children", "Seeing Development" and "Family and Society". The materials combine practical suggestions, theoretical information about child development, and case-studies of individual children or specific situations. Throughout, there is an emphasis on sensitivity—both to the student's own feelings and to those of the people with whom he or she is working—and on observation. Here is a very brief example of a preparatory exercise before work with young children begins. Students have been given "kids' stuff" (water, clay, fingerpaints) to play with:

"After working with the 'stuff', write journal notes for three minutes, describing what you did with it, and how you felt as you were working. When you have finished your journal entry, you will view five minutes from a movie *Half a Year Apart*, in which two children play at a water table. After the movie, reflect back on your own experience with the play materials, comparing your play with the play of the children. Think about how your playing may have helped you understand what these two children were experiencing" (EDC, 1976, p. 9).

This illustrates both the concentration on feelings in the course, and also the degree of *structure* it contains. All kinds of observation exercises and activities are suggested, as are different kinds of debriefing

and reflective sessions on the practical work. The materials are of a very high standard, and include manuals for teachers and for those at the "fieldsite", e.g. playgroup leaders and nursery school heads. The project marks the extreme end of a structured/unstructured continuum for the experiential approach. What impresses me about it is that the reflective element is designed to increase not only students' understanding of the experience they have been engaged in (how do young children behave?), but also their self-awareness (how do I behave with young children? how did I behave as a child? does that explain anything about me now?). See page 90 for a reference point.

Another kind of experiential activity which, like "Exploring Childhood" involves young people taking responsibility for others, is *tutoring or cross-age teaching*. Such schemes, where adolescents or young adults coach young children (or, more rarely, older people) have much to recommend them. The tutors not only increase in confidence and self-discipline (through being trusted to be in charge of others, and feeling they have something to contribute): they also often make cognitive gains, since they have to review and restructure knowledge in order to present it to others. An alternative school in Philadelphia sponsored by the Affective Education Programme and called The School for All Ages, contains, as its name suggests, both child and adult learners and involves a considerable amount of cross-age tutoring (see p. 91). Several British examples are described in a useful study of the activity by Sinclair Goodlad (1979).

Summary. A wide range of experiences is included in this broad approach. They share an emphasis on social activity which, it is assumed, will be of lasting educational value. Various strategies for reflection and follow-up may be employed to make transfer of learning more likely, but evaluation in this area is generally difficult. The professional's role varies according to the amount of self-determination and responsibility given to students, but is in the main facilitative rather than instructional.

5. The awareness-raising approach

The awareness-raising approach comprises participation in and reflection on group activities which focus on personal interaction. The professional is responsible for explaining the purpose of the group, for drawing attention to group processes, and for providing support to members. He or she may introduce games, exercises, or other activities in order to extend group experiences.

The title of this approach is not a wholly satisfactory shorthand version of the definition above. It should be emphasised at the outset that the "awareness-raising" referred to is always carried out through group-work (this is, in fact, the only approach which *cannot* be undertaken on an individual basis). Moreover, in a programme or project which concentrates on this approach, awareness-raising will be the main or sole reasons for the group sessions. "Awareness-raising" comprises: awareness of group processes and patterns of interaction; awareness of one's own reactions to the behaviour of others; and awareness of internal feelings and forces which shape one's behaviour. The work could be arranged on a continuum which at one end is very near to the approach to be considered next (structured skills training) and at the other end approaches group therapy. In the centre, where I hope to focus now, behaviours may be practised and experimented with but without specific training; and while unconscious individual and group processes may be discussed by the professional in the course of the work, the emphasis will be on exploration rather than "cure". The importance of this approach in youth work and in some forms of training has been described above (see pp. 18-19 and pp. 32-33). Chapter 12 gives a further extended example of its use.

Group-work of this kind may take several forms. The group may focus quite directly on the task of studying itself and have no other agenda (see the description of T-groups on pp. 32-33). Or, in a somewhat similar model, the emphasis may simply be on group *experience*—without, that is, explicit interpretation by the leader of the processes at work. David Clark (1975) describes a group of this kind which he ran with early school-leavers at Eltham Green Comprehensive School. The stated aim was "to build a good group", this being defined as one in which all members felt they belonged, and one in which all members could be themselves and contribute to the full. Clark intervened by giving the group objects to "play" with—a pack of cards, a ball—but seldom interpreted. Such work in schools is rare, but the accounts that exist (Grainger, 1970; Hall, 1977) agree with Clark's conclusions that, despite phases of boredom and frustration, students come to value the experience and make use of it. In all the cases cited, students took the opportunity offered by the group setting to explore acceptable patterns of behaviour with regard to the opposite sex, partly through the medium of jokes and innuendo.

Other groups have much more of an agenda. Students may discuss topics, or reflect on experiences which they have shared or which have some common features for them all. They may also be involved as a group in the kind of activities described under the creative or experiential approaches—putting on a play, for instance, or conducting a survey. In these cases, however, the *primary* purpose of the activity will be to feed into the awareness-raising work of the group. I observed an interesting example of this model in the final session of a residential course for students about to enter the sixth-form. After presentations of the tape-slide programmes that the students had produced in small groups, they were questioned quite searchingly about the ways in which they had worked together—how had the group been led? how had they coped with disagreements? how long had it been before they made their first decision? etc. I thought that, in this instance, the balance was uneven—the tape-slide programmes themselves deserved more attention, instead of being merely the vehicle for group processes—but the students did not seem to feel that their work had been slighted

and talked perceptively about how they had proceeded. One group which admitted to constant argument began to disagree amongst themselves as they answered and pointed that out: "Look! We're even doing it now".

A major strength of the awareness-raising approach is that it takes as its content the feelings of participants and thereby recognises their validity in an educational context. Those who adopt it sometimes claim that some students are so lacking in self-awareness that they need this kind of group-work before they can tackle cognitive or skills learning in new areas. The group provides a safe setting in which to give and to receive feedback and in which to experiment with new behaviours:

"Ray was astonished that the group should see him as a 'creep', and the rest of the group were equally surprised when they realised that he had really not been aware of his behaviour. It seemed that he needed continual reassurance. The group considered, with Ray, what help they could offer, and it was agreed that Ray should try taking the lead in some of the things the group did together" (quoted in Button, 1974, p. 117).

The setting is safe because of the presence of the professional who sees that the group keeps within its remit (e.g. "to build a good group") and because of the solidarity that group process itself provides. This does not (and should not) inhibit members from criticising one another but it does provide a framework in which the criticism can be constructively used.

Problems associated with the approach include its remoteness from everyday experience and the demands it makes of the group leader.

For many people, the articulation of feelings about oneself and others in their presence is an unfamiliar and uncomfortable activity. It may be experienced as artificial, self-indulgent, unproductive. Resistance to group-work methods, at least initially, is therefore likely, particularly from those whose cultural life-style does not set much store by verbalisation. Another consequence of the "remoteness" of group-work is the potential difficulty of transferring what is learned to the very different real-life situations outside (see Argyle's comment on T-group training on p. 33). In an attempt to circumvent this, some management trainers have turned to "team training"—in which those who work together all undergo the same training as one group (Morgan, 1971, pp. 39-40). If the group-work emphasises personal disclosure, however, such a system needs very careful handling.

Connected with the "remoteness" is the aura of mystification which tends to cling to the approach, and is particularly associated with the role of the group leader. A common feature of awareness-raising groups is a phase of frustration and anger about the leader's apparent immunity from the turmoil of group process in the privileged position as interpreter (see e.g. pp. 76-7). He or she may also be criticised for refusing to be a leader. It is important to realise that these reactions arise even when the purposes of the group and the role of the leader have been fully explained before the work begins. To some extent, then, they must be seen as part of the process, and most adherents of group-work do consider this phase a necessary one in the life of a group, uncomfortable though it may be. There are, however, degrees of possible explicitness within the leadership role. For instance, as a colleague suggested to me:

"One might say to a group: 'You seem to find it difficult to criticise each other. I'm going to give you a game to play which may help you sort that out'. Or one might simply produce the game without explanation".

The inexplicit nature of the latter strategy seems to give rise to frustration and fantasy which cannot always be justified by recourse to group process theory. Moreover, the nature of group-work often precludes an examination of the *power* inherent in the leader's position, even though an exploration of power may be on the group agenda. The lack of explicitness, which—it should be emphasised—is a hazard in group-work but not endemic, can be another inhibiting factor as far as the transfer of learning is concerned.

The discussion above has indicated some ways in which demands are made of the group leader in the awareness-raising approach. It is one which is usually considered to require some form of training and, ideally, on-going support. The leader has to be sensitive to the needs of *all* the members of the group, and aware of fleeting, sometimes contradictory, emotions and reactions as they occur. He or she has to be able to preserve the boundaries of the group and prevent it from slipping into a collusive, cosy chat-session, or a pseudo-therapeutic encounter. There are real possibilities of manipulation and exploitation. It may well be that the most serious drawback to the approach is the scarcity of workers with the ability to manage it well.

Summary. This approach encourages the exploration of feelings through group interaction. The group setting provides opportunities for members to become more aware of their own feelings and of the feelings of others; to judge the impact of their behaviour on others more accurately; and to try out new responses and behaviours in a safe environment. While the approach focuses on the here-and-now of group process, the very special nature of that examination may make the approach off-putting to some and the transfer of learning difficult. The role of the professional requires training, support and talent.

6. The skills training approach

The skills training approach requires learners to practise tasks, behaviours, or strategies within structured training programmes with defined, assessable outcomes. The design and implementation of programmes are the responsibility of the professional who needs to have competence in the area being taught.

The skills training approach includes social skills training as described in Chapter 4. But it is not confined, as that chapter may suggest, to training in face-to-face interaction. It also covers, for instance, instruction in various types of formal writing: business letters, application forms, invitations, etc. Nor is it always undertaken in groups. Individual training, either with an instructor or through programmed learning methods, is an alternative possibility. Many trainers, however, prefer a group setting because of the opportunities which it offers for immediate social feedback.

One feature common to all variations of this approach is *structure*. Although details differ, all programmes follow some kind of structured pattern, designed to aid the learning process. Many are based on a demonstration/practice/feedback model.

The approach may be employed either for training in specific tasks or pieces of behaviour, or for the teaching of more generic problem-solving or decision-making strategies. An example of an exercise falling within the first area might be "accepting compliments"; one falling within the second might be "analysing a task". Both will require practice in various applications and contexts. In both cases, also, the learning to be done will be more precisely defined than in either of the last two approaches. Both student and professional should know what the desired outcome of the training programme is, and both should be able to assess whether or not it has been achieved.

One of the attractions of this approach is that it often does not rely on prior knowledge or competency (except in instances like writing skills where basic literacy is a pre-requisite). Its advocates tend to describe the approach as "optimistic" since it asserts that social competence can be learned, that people have the capacity to change the way they behave. The direct focus on behaviour and the explicit nature of the process are often attractive to students, and may be preferred to the less straightforward-seeming approach of the awareness-raising group-work described earlier. Indeed, a paradox inherent in the skills training approach is that although the *process* of being trained requires students to be dependent on the trainer in almost all instances, the *results* of the training may be a greater freedom of manoeuvre than is gained from other less directive approaches. In part, this is because the students are aware of exactly what it is that they have been learning. Therefore, they have a new skill in their repertoires even if they choose to reject it. (There is no onus on one, for instance, to complain about poor service just because one has practised making formal complaints. But the skills practice should have ensured that the decision *not* to complain has nothing to do with lack of confidence or competence). Where the learning focuses on problem-solving strategies, the learner's power of choice over when and how to use the tools acquired is considerable.

A polarisation which is over-simple but useful for clarification can be set up between adherents of the skills training approach and supporters of awareness-raising group-work. The latter tend to criticise skills training as over-emphasising behaviour. They claim that unless students are well-motivated and have sufficient self-confidence, training programmes—however well-designed—will fail. Skills trainers retort that however self-aware students are, reliable and consistent behaviour change will not occur without structured practice. In the event, many programmes combine both approaches to some extent.

Criticisms of the skills training approach have been discussed in relation to social skills training on pages 31–32 above. Here, only a few points need to be made or re-emphasised.

First, despite the explicit nature of the work, transferability of learning can be problematic if the training has been carried out in artificial situations, or if the practice element is over-simplified. Further education teachers who have experimented in communications workshops or classrooms with simulated exercises like back-to-back telephoning have been disappointed by their students' inability to replicate successful performance in the outside world of telephone kiosks. An intermediate stage of guided practice in the real context may be needed. Some courses encourage homework—skills practice away from the training situation—both in order to reinforce learning and in order to aid its transfer (See pp. 30 and 84).

Other problems with the approach arise more from its application than from intrinsic difficulties. Serious questions arise, for instance, over the selection of social skills to be included in any training programme. Who is to determine, and on what basis, an appropriate syllabus for young workers, managers or full-time students? Very different items might be included, depending on the overall aims of the programmes (see pp. 51–53). There are also practical problems in making sure that the behaviours practised are appropriate for the context in which they are needed—which may not be one with which the trainer is at all familiar.

Trainers need to have as accurate a knowledge as possible of the culture and situation in which the learning will be used; they also have to be competent at the tasks or skilled in the behaviours themselves. Unlike professionals employing, for example, the experiential approach, who need not themselves be able to tutor a child in maths or to paint a ceiling as long as they can provide support and resources for those who can, skills trainers do have to be experts in the requisite skill in order to carry out the structured stages properly. They also need tact in order to give the learners constructive feedback (see p. 32).

Summary. This approach concentrates on structured training with a behavioural focus. Learning goals are explicit, and achievement can easily be assessed. Although the process requires student dependency, the resultant new skills can enhance independence and opportunities. The selection of skills to be developed in any training programme is a problematic area, involving normative, ethical and practical considerations. The professional plays an active, instructional role which demands sensitivity as well as mastery of the skills being taught.

7. The modelling approach

The modelling approach provides the learner with the opportunity of spending time with people outside educational institutions who have adult roles and responsibilities. Two kinds of professional are involved: the adult "non-teachers" who make their views, attitudes and values apparent to the learners; and programme organisers who select the "models" and are sometimes also responsible for their training and support.

Once again, the title of this approach is somewhat misleading, since "modelling" can have quite a precise meaning in social skills training. Here it is used broadly to describe a process whereby young people learn about adult roles through a relationship with an adult or adults. Much social learning, of course, occurs through informal relationships and encounters between young people and adults built around shared leisure pursuits or neighbourliness. The modelling approach is concerned with "arranged" relationships—with conscious attempts, that is, to bring young people and adults together for social education purposes. Sometimes, an expressed motive for employing this approach is *compensatory*. It is felt that many young people today grow up knowing few adults who are neither members of their immediate family nor in authority over them (teachers, policemen). Opportunities for the kind of informal socialisation mentioned above are therefore rare, and young people may know very little about how adults manage their rights and responsibilities, or see the world and themselves. The modelling approach sets out to fill that gap.

In some schemes, the relationships are basically social. David Clark, for instance, told me how, when he was working with ROSLA groups at Eltham Green Comprehensive School in London, he arranged for children studying "Family Life" to visit young married couples, and divorced and bereaved people. The purpose was to extend the children's range of acquaintances and put them in contact with adults in different family situations. Several formed quite close relationships, and visited regularly.

A more usual model is for the relationship to be work-based. One facet of it may then be concerned with technical training or supervision but another planned element will be a social one—often expressed in terms of transmission of attitudes and values:

"All over the city I see walls I've built. I'm proud of them. I don't shout about it but it's nice to know . . . And I want to get this into John. Not only bricklaying, but when he leaves here to go to another job, whatever job it is—do the best you can and he'll be satisfied".

That craftsman, talking on a BBC programme in the series *Working with Young People* about his aims for the young employed boy he is training at the Victoria Settlement in Liverpool, shows how interconnected for him are technical competence and attitudes to work. To split John's training into "bricklaying and" "job maintenance skills" would seem to him to be nonsense.

A similarly integrated approach has always been a feature of Community Industry. The Scheme Consultants—who work with groups of 8–10 young employees on a wide range of projects involving such activities as painting and decorating, carpentry, construction and sewing—are chosen not only for their craft expertise but for their ability to relate to young people. Their role is seen as combining social education and technical instruction *through* work experience.

Another example is the way the social education programme has developed at Intaskill, an engineering training workshop for young unemployed people in Birmingham. Once taught as a separate "subject" in a small classroom away from the shop floor, it is being progressively integrated with the industrial training. The Social Education Officer's role is developing into one of support and co-ordination for the supervisors, who now do a large part of the social and life skills training themselves, combining it with engineering workshop practice.

A slightly different example is that of the Working Coach developed by the Grubb Institute, whose staff has been researching this kind of approach for some years (see, for example, Bazalgette, 1971). In their Transition to Working Life (TWL) project, men and women in non-managerial positions are given day-release from their employment to run workshops with small groups of unemployed young people (in this context, "workshop" does not imply skills training—the groups are concerned to explore the world of employment through visits, meeting and discussion). Two statements from a list of the assumptions underlying the concept of the working coach provide a good description of the Grubb Institute's version of the approach:

- "—that young people needed a form of support which many of them were not receiving from the adult world, a support which would facilitate them in shifting to a position where they looked for help from outside themselves from adults who would provide for them, towards a position whereby they would take the initiative themselves and reach out not merely to take, but to make, opportunities.
- "—that the adult who could provide this support was one who is secure in his or her own work and who would be prepared to interact with young people without necessarily trying to 'help' them. Since most of them will have made their own way in life by fighting for it, they would convey this attitude naturally to the young people" (Grubb Institute, 1979a, p. 2).

Here then the young people and the adult do not share a common workplace, but they may be presumed to share a common interest in work and employment. The idea, central to the modelling approach, that the "model" behaves spontaneously, not self-consciously, is illustrated here by the statement: ('they would convey this attitude naturally').

The strengths of the approach are considerable. Young people are interested in adults who occupy roles to which they aspire (mother, supervisor) or who possess skills they envy. They are often more motivated to learn from such people than from teachers (whose skills are often unrecognised, let alone envied). So John, the trainee at the Victoria Settlement, a boy seldom heard to speak, told the camera:

"Billy gave me an 'and. Great man, Billy. He tells you what to do like, he shows you".

Moreover, these relationships are based in the world outside educational institutions, and that too may make learning easier for some young people. In the work-place, situations with social education implications which arise out of work activities—a misunderstood instruction, a disregard of safety rules—can be treated as learning opportunities as they occur.

Once again, however, the problems are the reverse side of the strengths. Although learning in the context of work may be attractive, it may also be limiting if only the social and life skills directly relevant to the job are covered. Again, consistency of learning cannot be guaranteed: different "models" will convey different attitudes and values. It is also very difficult to monitor or assess the learning in the modelling approach. Indeed, where social education and skills training are combined, it is possible for the former to vanish altogether even though everyone concerned assumes that it is occurring. Yet attempts to structure the social education element in order to safeguard its existence may threaten the whole rationale of the approach.

There are some interesting examples of developments within Community Industry which illustrate the conflict in this latter point. In one area, the Industrial Training Research Unit is experimenting with work-based personal development schemes for young employees. Community Industry was chosen for this work because of the caring component of the Scheme Consultants' role. It is hoped that young employees may be helped to construct personal plans for themselves through counselling from Scheme Consultants based on the shared finding of assessment instruments. But while such work may well give new direction and impetus to social education within Community Industry, it can also be seen as a "professionalisation" of the Scheme Consultant's role which could be off-putting to some adults and young people alike. A booklet produced by the Adult Literacy Unit for Community Industry, which sets out to suggest ways in which Scheme Consultants can demonstrate the value of literacy and numeracy to their trainees in work situations, seems similarly to be concerned to strengthen the social education role of Scheme Consultants while emphasising that it is not trying to turn them into teachers. Some tension about the role is evident.

Similar issues are involved in the question of whether or not adult models should undergo training. In the Grubb TWL scheme, the Working Coaches are supported by tutors, who help them explore their feelings about themselves and the progress of the group. Even this degree of support could, however, be seen as an intervention in the interaction of "ordinary" men and women with young people which changes the experience into something less straightforward.

This raises a more fundamental question: in a pluralist society, what are the criteria for selecting adult models? In a work-place scheme, is it hoped that the traditional virtues of time-keeping, reliability, and pride in a good job well done will be transmitted? What happens if young people learn instead how to beat the time-clock? If the basis on which models are selected is not made clear, a programme is open to the charge of attempting to change young people's attitudes in a covert way, and of using "ordinary" people merely as a front for professionals who would be less likely to be influential. Moreover, it can be argued that the whole system is basically a conservative one, concerned to mould the new generation on the pattern of the older one.

Several of these questions and criticisms arise because of a general lack of clarity about whether, through the modelling approach, young people are meant to *adopt* the values and attitudes of the adult models, or merely to use them as points of comparison and contrast as they develop their own standards. The TWL project which favours the latter position has devoted a good deal of time to working out its implications. An unpublished discussion draft, for instance, states:

"(The young) require the opportunity to discover and examine differences between adults and themselves, and so come to recognise both who they are now, and who they might become. It would therefore be incomplete to say that the young people must be able to identify with the Coach; the Coach must be different, but not wholly 'other'".

Thus, while the care taken over the selection of Coaches and the emphasis on qualities like initiative and self-help make it clear that the TWL project is committed to certain values rather than others, it is *also* committed to a process of values-exploration rather than indoctrination. In practice, of course, such a balance can be very difficult to maintain.

Summary. This approach puts young people in contact with their elders in situations where attitudes and values can be exemplified. Direct, relevant learning is possible from models perceived as attractive. It is difficult, however, to monitor or assess such learning. Moreover, there are problems about the criteria for the selection of models and about their exact purpose. Programmes vary in the amount of support or training they offer to models.

Summarising and concluding comments

The approaches. The seven approaches can be briefly summarised in terms of what is involved for the learner:

Information-based: reception of knowledge and information with either theoretical or practical relevance in the social education area.

Enquiry-based: practice in a variety of modes of enquiry through a search for knowledge.

Creative: self-expression through the practice and/or appreciation of the creative arts.

Experiential: participation in activities considered to be inherently socially educative.

Awareness-raising: participation in and reflection on group activities and experiences.

Skills training: structured practice in tasks, behaviours and strategies.

Modelling: spending time with adult "non-teachers".

As both this chapter and *Developing Social and Life Skills* (FEU, 1980), have shown, there is no undisputed "best" approach or model. This is not surprising, since there is no consensus about which is the most important element in social education—the development of knowledge, of understanding, of attitudes, of sensitivity, or of competence; or about which of these are pre-requisites for the development of the others. Nor are there clear research findings about how any of these are most effectively developed through teaching programmes.

The different approaches reflect different assumptions or priorities. The enquiry-based approach, for instance, emphasises the development of understanding rather than attitudes, say, or sensitivity. These latter receive more attention in the creative and the awareness-raising approaches. Choice of one approach rather than another is likely to be based in part on the priorities of the professionals. If they believe, for example, that social education is crucially concerned with the development of understanding, they may well choose an enquiry-based approach; whereas, if they consider social competence is the priority, they are more likely to opt for skills training. In addition, the professionals' perceptions of their students' abilities and motivation are likely to play a part in their choice of approach. An enquiry-based programme may seem too like school to a group of disillusioned early leavers on a YOP scheme, and, in this case, the professional who is committed to the development of understanding may decide to work towards that end through an experiential approach. Often the same specific objective can be reached through different approaches. Problem-solving strategies, for instance, may be developed through an enquiry-based approach (by involvement in a curriculum like that developed by the History 13–16 Project), or through skills training (as in the programmes described in Chapter 13). To some, the former may seem a long academic way round; to others, the latter may seem merely training in the mechanical application of a formula.

It is unfortunate when views become so polarised that the different strengths of the different approaches are not sufficiently recognised. For instance, I have found, among general and liberal studies teachers, a distrust of the skills training approach and a rejection of the role of expert, as required for that approach and for the information-based approach. Yet skills training is attractive to many students, and can be a quick and direct way of increasing self-confidence through mastery of specific competences. And such work demands expertise and direction from the trainer. (Imagine being taught to drive by an enabler!)

It may be argued that the kind of analysis undertaken in this chapter increases the dangers of polarisation by over-emphasising the differences between approaches. In practice, few projects or courses employ only one. Often several are combined (see FEU, 1980, for a full discussion of how this may be done). While I consider that it is important to distinguish between the approaches, the final section of the report redresses the balance between theory and practice by presenting some case-studies which illustrate various combinations of different approaches. To redress the balance still further, two factors which constantly recur in *all* the approaches will be briefly considered here. One is the reflective element; the other is the quality of the relationship between the professional and the student.

The reflective element. All the approaches can incorporate a reflective element. Opportunities can be provided for students to reflect, either individually or in groups, on what they have learned and on how it relates to their previous knowledge and experience. Such reflection actively involves students in the learning process. It helps them to clarify what learning gains have been made and how they might be drawn on in other situations. It also allows them to distance themselves from the immediate effects of exercises or activities so that they can decide, in relation to their total frame of reference, whether to adopt or reject what has been offered.

In these ways, the problems connected with the various approaches can often be mitigated. The Open University courses on parent education (described on pp. 26–27), for instance, encourage students to consider the course materials in the light of their own children's behaviour and development. In this way, active learning is added to the often passive information-based approach. "Exploring Childhood" has already been cited as an example of a project which emphasises reflection on experiential activity in a way which makes the learning more explicit and deepens understanding. Reflection built into programmes based on the skills training and modelling approaches helps to lessen the prescriptive elements in each. In a skills training programme it can distance students from the training process and help them to understand that they are free to choose whether or not to use the skills they now possess. Similarly, students can be encouraged to reflect on the attitudes and standards they have encountered in adult models and consider how they relate to their own value systems. In general, all the approaches are enhanced by an emphasis on reflection.

Relationship between professional and student. One factor consistently recurs in the approaches. That is the importance of the quality of the relationship between the professional and the student. While some approaches accord it more priority than others—in the modelling approach, for instance, it is the essential element—it plays some part in all. "I had expected that the telephone tapes described under the information-based approach would prove an exception—that they would be an example of "pure" information-transmission without any personal element whatever. Yet the voices on tape were warm and welcoming and often gave their names. An attempt to set up an atmosphere of trust and acceptance was evident.

In a social education programme, the social relationship between professional and learner is a touchstone. It is both the pre-requisite for learning, and a measure of the effectiveness of a programme. Mutual respect, concern and commitment are key factors. Where they are present, *any* approach has a good chance of success.

CHAPTER 8: OTHER PERSPECTIVES

The approaches described in the previous chapter represent one way of charting this confusing area. There are other possible categorisations, however, which highlight different aspects. Three will be discussed here: curriculum content, the position of the learner, and the overall aims of social education programmes. Subsequently, the second part of the chapter is concerned with factors which inhibit the establishment of social education as a priority area of work.

1. Alternative perspectives on social education

Curriculum content. The seven approaches to social education do not throw much light on the content of curricula. Within any one approach, the content may vary considerably. An information-based programme, for instance, might be concerned with information about the Reform Bills, or about the structure of local and national government, or about the stages of child development. Within the creative approach, students might improvise a play about a strike, or one about a quarrel between a boy and girl.

One way of distinguishing content is through the three elements of social education suggested in the Introduction: *the self and others*; *social institutions, structures and organisation*; and *social issues*. Viewed in this way, the two drama examples are concerned respectively with "social issues" and with "the self and others".

Another way is to relate content to the derivation of curricular objectives, following a broad distinction between social and life skills and other areas of social education:

"In general . . . we can say that the term 'Social and Life Skills' is used to label

- (a) curricula whose objectives have been primarily derived from a real or imagined analysis of the social demands made on people at work and in the everyday requirements of life in the community rather than
- (b) curricula whose objectives have been primarily derived from the basic tenets of the relevant academic subjects" (FEU, 1980).

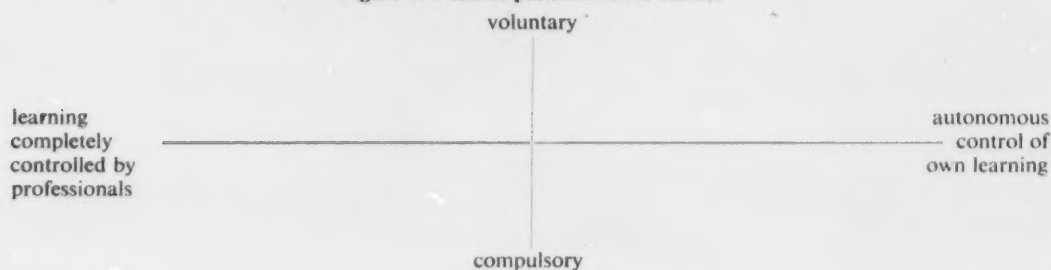
From this viewpoint, the study of the Reform Bills stands out from the examples above as the one most likely to be part of a *type (b)* curriculum. On the whole, the content of *type (a)* curricula tends to be *directly* related to the demands of the situational analysis with an emphasis on immediate, or near-immediate, relevance.

The distinction is well-illustrated by contrasting the Adkins Life Skills Programme with "Man: a Course of Study"—both described in the next section of the report. Such an exercise highlights one of the exceptional features of the latter: its deliberate use of areas of content which contrast not only with each other, but with the student's own experience and environment.

The FEU report on *Developing Social and Life Skills* (*ibid*) discusses selection of content for social and life skills courses in some detail.

The position of the learner. There are two important dimensions to the position of learners in social education programmes: their status as *voluntary or compulsory* students and the *degree of control* they have over their learning. Both are represented in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Possible positions of the learner



Neither dimension is as clear-cut as it at first appears. School-children are, of course, compulsory students, and further education students on day-release (although their attendance at college is not enforced by law, are near the compulsory end of that continuum. But even where attendance is compulsory the subjects studied may be optional. Prisoners, for instance, may be voluntary students on life skills courses. Moreover, extrinsic motives for opting for subjects and courses (examination passes, for example, or increased social security payments) complicate the concept of voluntarism. Even so, a broad distinction between voluntary and compulsory study can relatively easily be made.

This dimension has implications for student motivation (a schoolchild is less likely to be interested in religious knowledge than the adult who has chosen to attend evening classes in the subject) and for course design. Ethical considerations are involved where there is compulsory attendance. An insistence on personal disclosure, for instance, or the kind of emotional pressure exerted in T-group training, might well be considered inappropriate in situations where the learner is not free to reject the activity. Activities where personal commitment has traditionally been considered an important element may be questionable if compulsorily imposed (community service is a case in point). Professionals who work with voluntary students often enjoy a greater degree of freedom in course planning than those whose students attend compulsorily.

The other, controlled/autonomous dimension involves several elements. Completely autonomous control of one's own learning must presumably include the formulation of objectives, the choice of learning methods and activities (and the sequencing and pacing of activities), and some degree of involvement in assessment—or, at least, in the choice of assessment procedures. At the other end of this continuum, learning objectives will be controlled by a syllabus, and performance assessed by professionals (possibly unknown to the student). Moreover, both the nature and the social organisation of learning activities will be determined by others. (I have been helped, in considering this dimension, by an analysis of stages of learner development prepared by the ILEA FHE Curriculum Development Project (see p. 90): readers are referred to it for further study.) Different degrees of possible learner control within one approach, the experiential, are described on page 43.

Two points need to be made clear. One is that autonomous control of one's own learning is not incompatible with participation in highly-structured tasks under the direction of a professional. Should part of a personal learning agenda, for example, involve training in appropriate eye-contact, this might best be carried out in a highly controlled situation.

The other important point is that it should not be assumed that controlled learning is necessarily inferior. Objectives set by a professional may well extend the students' horizons and increase the range of choice open to them. Learning activities prescribed by another may be more imaginative and involving than those of the students' own devising. On the other hand, development towards autonomous control over one's own learning represents growth towards independence, and can itself be seen as an important social education process.

Putting the two dimensions together, as in Figure 4, produces four "sectors". Within the controlled/voluntary sector belong such students as youth club members who have opted for first-aid training, and adults taking traditional A-level courses in, say, English or history: they have voluntarily submitted themselves to participation in programmes designed and controlled by others. In the controlled/compulsory sector belong school children studying set syllabuses in English or first-aid as components of a common-core social education programme. As voluntary learners move towards the autonomous end of the controlled/autonomous dimension, they are likely to make diminishing use of formal, planned provision, calling on education resources (including teachers) as they need them. Compulsory learners move towards greater control over their own learning through involvement in programmes which encourage choice of learning activities, participation in course planning, and self-assessment procedures.

There is evidence, though, that movement of compulsory learners in the autonomous direction is limited. In a review of autonomous study with special reference to the Schools Council General Studies Project, Meighan and Roberts (1979, p. 66) found that:

"Teachers perceived a number of obstacles to autonomous study which emanated from the particular school or college; their students' capabilities and motivation; and their own attitudes and beliefs, which made autonomous study impracticable or inappropriate. These rationalisations appear to reflect their own anxieties about the latter".

When teachers do attempt to introduce some degree of autonomous study or student control of learning they often encounter hostility from colleagues, who feel that institutional norms are under threat.

Overall aims of social education programmes. Underlying the controversies surrounding this area and the diversity of practice are fundamental disagreements about the *purpose* of the work. Although course aims tend to sound alike—with frequent use of phrases like "self-confidence", "awareness of rights and responsibilities", "independence of thought", and "consideration for others"—the meaning attached to such terms and the priority accorded to them in practice vary considerably, and reflect different value-assumptions about social education.

To illustrate these variations, I have adapted a model of alternative approaches to careers education devised by Watts and Herr (1976, pp. 134–137). They distinguish four very different socio-political functions

of careers education: social control, social change, individual change, and non-directive. These approaches can be distinguished along two dimensions: one concerned with whether the primary focus is on society or on the individual; the other with whether the approach accepts the *status quo* or is concerned with changing it in certain *prescribed* directions. Tony Watts (1978) has developed the model in relation to teaching about unemployment. My adaptation, related to aims of social education, is represented in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Four possible overall aims of social education programmes

	Focusing on society	Focusing on individuals
Concerned to initiate change	<u><i>Social change</i></u> To help students see the need for political and social change and to develop the relevant action skills	<u><i>Individual change</i></u> To maximise the life-chances of the individual within society
Not concerned to initiate change	<u><i>Social control</i></u> To initiate students into societal norms related to work, family and citizenship	<u><i>Non-directive pro-autonomy</i></u> To encourage informed autonomous choice of social life-style

Courses and projects with *social change* aims often emphasise the need for education in political and economic awareness (see, for instance, Davies, 1979). Importance is placed on co-operative learning and group solidarity. Individual progress is viewed as only being ultimately meaningful in a context of societal change:

"The self-emancipation approach insists that the great majority of young people can only fulfil their cultural potential if they join together in a struggle to overthrow the institutions and ideologies of the dominant classes, and that neither the harmony of 'their society' nor the happiness of all its citizens, can be guaranteed in the process" (Review Steering Group, 1978, pp. 43-44).

In contrast, *social control* programmes are concerned to help young people to "adjust" (often a key word) to the demands of adult life, and in particular to working life. Programmes will often include references to personal development, but this is viewed within a framework of social norms:

"One of the main aims in Life Skills training will be to adjust trainees to normal working conditions, giving attention to such matters as time-keeping, discipline, and the maintenance of satisfactory relations with other trainees and members of the staff. This calls upon the tutor or instructor to have an understanding of young people as human beings" (MSC, 1977, p. 10).

Individual change aims are concerned with increasing the individual's chances of success, at work and in adult life generally—success as defined by the professional, or by society as a whole. One way of differentiating individual change and social control programmes related to work is by whether the emphasis is on entrepreneurial qualities like competitiveness and self-assertiveness, or on qualities more socially acceptable for most workers like co-operation and reliability. One branch of individual change programmes is particularly concerned with *compensatory* education. Members of groups considered as socially disadvantaged (women, for instance, or ethnic minority students) are offered special educational provision in order to improve their life chances *vis-à-vis* the "normal" population. One problem with such programmes is that they may raise expectations which society cannot fulfil. Some courses for young unemployed people, for instance, are open to the charge of grooming students to compete against each other for non-existent jobs. The compensatory aspect of individual change programmes is reflected in this comment about American adult basic education students by Winthrop Adkins, whose Life Skills Programme is discussed in Part III of this report:

"It is not surprising that typical adult students have a myriad of problems, considering the conditions of life with which they have had to deal. Adult Education students are a most heterogeneous group of individuals with respect to age, sex and ethnic background, but, with few exceptions, they share a common background of educational and cultural disadvantage. It is therefore not unusual to find that such students have not had the opportunity to acquire many of the subtle and necessary skills for mastering problems in the home, in school, on the job and in the community which middle-class persons take for granted" (Adkins, 1973).

Non-directive pro-autonomy programmes do not set out to change the individual in specific, prescribed directions but are concerned to develop that quality variously described as "autonomy", "self-empowerment", or "self-determination". Such programmes aim, in other words, to encourage students to make their own decisions about how they will live. Such students may opt to work for social change, or for personal success, but the choice will be theirs, rather than another's. Non-directive should not be taken to imply "inactive": a good programme should extend a student's range of choices by increasing self-awareness, skills and understanding, and should encourage the process of examining possibilities in the light of personal value systems. Susan Isaacs' description (1968, p. 119) of the aims of psychoanalysis expresses the non-directive function very well:

"We do not seek to mould him (the patient) according to our notions of what he should be like, but only to enable him to make his own changes in himself, by understanding his own deeper wishes and counter-wishes. We are not concerned with our own purposes, but with his".

I also find Davies and Gibson's (1967, p. 86) definition of their social education aim as "maturity of the next generation for *their* society" (whatever they may choose to make of it) a good summary.

It is important to note that there may be a conflict between the aims of a course or project and those of the institution that houses it or the organisation that funds it. The issue has already been raised in relation to schools (see p. 7) but it is not confined to secondary education. Some would see the Youth Opportunities Programme as an arena of potential conflict between sponsors with social control or individual change aims and those attempting to organise social change or non-directive programmes.

Categorising the aims is relatively simple; relating actual projects and courses to them is much more difficult. It is at the various interfaces between aims that the problems arise and tensions are evident. Davies (1979, p. 5) for instance says of social and life skills courses:

"... contradictory aims and responses exist ... as the adults concerned struggle to balance at least some individualised person-centred goals with goals which concentrate on meeting societally-defined requirements and expectations".

Some of the case-studies which follow this chapter concern projects whose aims are debatable, and the overviews have already raised other examples. Is a detached youth worker (as described on pages 19-20), for instance, acting as an agent of social control or as a non-directive counsellor? As we have seen, the tensions in the role impelled some into community development which occupies an equally problematic position between social control and social change. One's own socio-political views inevitably affect one's categorisation of projects: in particular, those who favour social change programmes tend to see *all* others as examples of social control. From the other end of the socio-political spectrum, the criticisms which social education projects often attract from the popular press ("teaching revolution", "left-indoctrination") usually reflect a fear that any deviation from social control must involve (disruptive) social change.

The very difficulty of determining exactly where one's priorities lie and the extent to which they are reflected in practice may account for the resistance I have encountered from teachers and youth workers to considering their work within the kind of framework suggested here. The exercise has been attacked as "deterministic" and "limiting". Yet even if this particular model is felt to be over-simplified, some kind of analysis of the underlying social aims of one's work is surely a criterion of professionalism. As Ben Morris writes (1972, p. 3):

"It is much better when these systems of thought and feeling, these perspectives, are avowed, made explicit, for they may then be criticised and modified, and action tempered by greater rationality and sympathy".

2. Establishing social education

The dominance of the academic tradition. Education in Britain may be said to be dominated still by an examination system which has a hierarchy within it whereby passes in the traditional academic subjects are seen as more desirable than those in other areas. To a large extent, such a situation can be attributed to the influence of the universities extending downwards in order to ensure the maintenance of standards in higher education. Employers, despite its dubious relevance to them, support the system, partly because it is convenient and partly because it is publicly defensible. The power of the GCE examination system extends to educational institutions other than schools, as the comments on a survey of pre-employment courses carried out for the FEU made clear:

"(The authors of the survey) also argued for a rationalisation of provision in order to provide a chance of countering the dominant influence of GCE O-level as currency on the minds of young people and employers alike. The strength of this currency depreciated the value of other courses—even those acknowledged as useful and interesting by the students, and recognised as relevant preparation by individual local employers" (FEU, 1979a, p. 7).

That last sentence pinpoints the problem facing much, probably *most*, of the social education provision discussed in this report. Its very *relevance* marks it down as non-traditional, and hence debases its value as preparation for *success*. The mere fact of studying some courses can label students as second-rate—"Learning

for Leisure" rates low in comparison with economics, as do social and life skills compared with O-level sociology. Even as interesting a critique as *School Curricula for a Changing World* (RPPITB, 1976) seems to me to be falling into the trap of dual provision:

"Courses should be developed for pupils who would be pursuing parallel but alternative curricular pathways designed to promote academic and social development but having different career goals from those pre-determined by higher educational requirements. These courses should look towards adult life, preparing students for growth towards autonomy in their life at work, at leisure and in society" (p. 10).

Fine in theory, but doomed in practice, I would argue, to be rejected in favour of the traditional pathways whenever possible.

The HMI survey (DES, 1979b, p. 262) calls for a general change of attitude:

"The 'public'—particularly, though not only, parents and employers—have some responsibility also. If schools believe that their work is appreciated only as far as it is reflected in examination results, they will be tempted to subordinate all else, even though that may lead paradoxically to their narrowing the work in a way that precludes them from responding to other demands on them".

(It is interesting that the universities are not mentioned here.) Despite the obvious common-sense of that comment, it is difficult to see what is going to cause parents and employers to change. Some think that the Manpower Services Commission's incursions into education (through the Youth Opportunities Programme, for instance) may succeed in persuading employers of the irrelevance of formal qualifications. But in a situation of growing unemployment it seems more likely that higher qualifications will be demanded for job-entry. Meanwhile, most social education provision tends to be cut off from the *main* preoccupations of education institutions—O and A-levels in schools, technical training in further education—and tacitly accorded a lower priority.

Institutional constraints. Finally, comments scattered through the report about the difficulties of implementing social education programmes within educational institutions need to be emphasised. The low status of the work has been discussed; the hostility it often provokes from other teachers if it is at all innovative has also been mentioned, and will be exemplified further in Part III. Projects are commonly accused of encouraging anti-authoritarian behaviour and attitudes. "You're not in humanities (or social education/community studies/personal development/MACOS) now, so don't ask questions/leave your desk/speak to your neighbour . . ." is a recurring quotation in evaluation reports. Such remarks reflect the recognition that some kind of threat is being posed to existing structures and hierarchies. Yet, given the low priority accorded to most of this work, the emphasis is more likely to be on survival than on subversion. Combined with the possibility of public suspicion of innovation, institutional disapproval is hard to combat (Rennie *et al.*, 1974). This chapter has suggested two perspectives from which the conflict may be viewed: the difficulties of reconciling compulsory attendance with any degree of learner control; and the possibility of institution and project having different overall social aims. Social control pressures on the institution (the influence of large employers on colleges of further education, for instance) may also be an inhibiting factor.

In other ways, too, institutional constraints can restrict possibilities for education in personal and social development. In particular, the size of groups may influence the type of work that can be undertaken. (I suspect that class size is a major reason for the relative scarcity of awareness-raising work in schools, for instance.) The importance of the quality of the relationship between professional and learner argues for small groups, or for some form of team teaching. It is significant that where resources permit—on management training courses, for example—the ratio of professional to students, except in lectures, is seldom more than 1:12. The quality of social education generally would certainly be improved if such a ratio could be consistently maintained.

Other problems—lack of equipment, unsuitable rooms and furniture, inappropriate lengths of sessions and classes—may seem minor in themselves but cumulatively reflect the lack of priority given to the work by institutions (and by the society they serve).

Concluding comments

This chapter has attempted to draw together and clarify points made throughout the report about the amorphous, diverse nature of social education and its relative lack of credibility within a society dominated by academic qualifications. In particular, I have been concerned to distinguish the different value-assumptions which underlie social education programmes as they underlie society itself. I hope the various perspectives suggested in the chapter may help readers to compare and contrast projects in a number of fruitful ways.

PART III: CASE STUDIES

INTRODUCTION TO PART III

This section of the report consists of five case-studies:

- The Schools Council Social Education Project
- The Humanities Curriculum Project (HCP)
- "Man: a Course of Study" (MACOS)
- Personal development courses at Lindley Lodge
- Three Life Skills programmes

They are intended both to act as illustrations of arguments and frameworks presented earlier, and to exemplify the complexity of practice in comparison with the straightforwardness of theory. The headings below refer to issues raised elsewhere in the report, and brief indications are given under each as to the particular relevance of the individual studies that will follow.

The definition of a "project" (page 2)

Six of the projects covered in the case-studies are in published form: "Man: a Course of Study", the Humanities Curriculum project, and the Adkins Life Skills Programme include pupil materials as well as teacher guides; the other two life skills programmes consist mainly of teacher manuals; the Social Education Project was not materials-based but exists as a final report (Rennie *et al.*, 1974). All illustrate the difficulty of determining whether a published project should be studied in its written form or as implemented in practice. My studies of the Social Education Project and the life skills programmes, in particular, compare the adaptations of practice with the original formulation of the work. The Humanities Curriculum Project is currently entering a new phase of development, which adds another dimension to the issue.

Approaches to social education (Chapter 7)

The case-studies illustrate the variety of approaches to social education, and ways in which they are combined in practice. The Social Education Project is an example of the experiential approach (with some enquiry-based work as well); "Man: a Course of Study" is a most impressive enquiry-based curriculum. Lindley Lodge and the life skills programmes are both interesting examples of combined approaches: the former largely awareness-raising but with some modelling as well; the latter largely skills training but influenced by awareness-raising methodology. Similarly influenced, I shall argue, is the Humanities Curriculum Project, although that adopts in the main an enquiry-based approach. Indeed, both Chapters 10 (HCP) and 13 (Life Skills) draw attention to the power of group process and suggest that the need to understand and control it sometimes leads to the introduction of awareness-raising elements in programmes largely devoted to other approaches.

Curriculum content (p. 50).

The content of the case-studies illustrates the categories given in the last chapter. The Humanities Curriculum Project focuses on social issues. The Social Education Project is also concerned with social issues, together with social institutions, structures and organisation—all chiefly on a local level. "Man: a Course of Study" on the other hand, considers basic questions underlying social institutions, structures and organisation in general. Lindley Lodge concentrates on the self and others, particularly in relation to employment. So, from a very different approach, do the life skills programmes, although they also pay some attention to the individual's encounters with social institutions, structures and organisation.

The contrast between the Adkins Life Skills Programme and "Man: a Course of Study" was cited in the previous chapter as an illustration of the distinction between curricula derived from an analysis of the demands of work and every-day life, and curricula derived from academic disciplines.

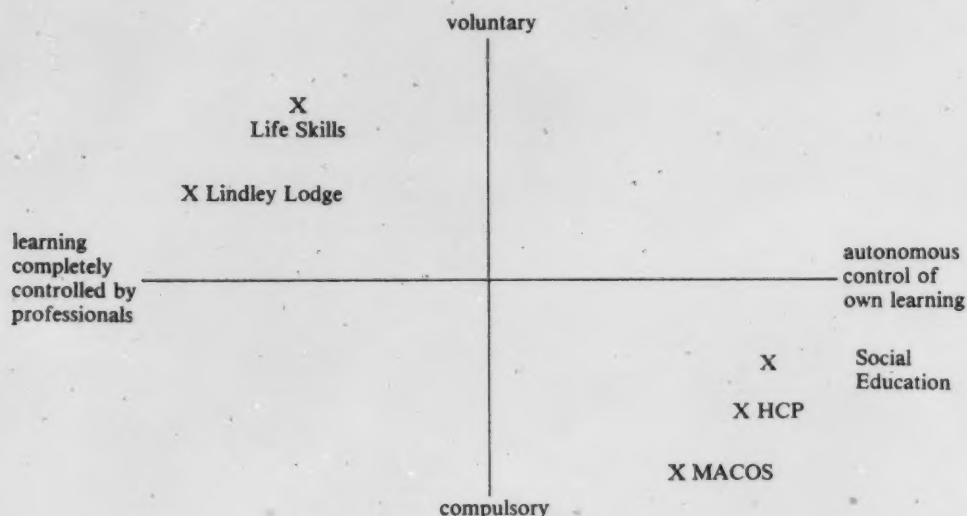
The position of the learner (pp. 50–51)

With the published projects, the position of the learner will vary according to whether in practice the projects are based in voluntary or compulsory contexts. The implementation may also emphasise, or seek to diminish, learner autonomy. Nevertheless Figure 6 suggests positions for the case-studies on the model presented in the last chapter. Readers may wish to see whether they would plot them differently.

Overall aims (pp. 51–53)

The Social Education Project is an example of a programme with social change aims. "Man: a Course of Study", the Humanities Curriculum Project, and "Social Skills and Personal Problem-Solving" (a British life skills project) all seem to me to be fundamentally non-directive. Lindley Lodge and the transatlantic programmes raise very interesting questions of where, in practice, their priorities lie. At Lindley Lodge, the tension is between non-directive and social control aims; with the life skills programmes it is between individual change and social control.

Figure 6: The case-studies in relation to learner position



Controversy

None of the case-studies is completely non-controversial. The Social Education Project, "Man: a Course of Study" and the Humanities Curriculum Project have all attracted adverse publicity, and have all to some extent been curtailed by public pressure. The accusations have on the whole been that the projects were too oriented towards social change in a left-wing direction, and were generally subversive of discipline. In contrast, critics of Lindley Lodge, or institutions like it, and of the life skills programmes (particularly the transatlantic models), tend to condemn them as perpetuating the societal *status quo*. Both the Social Education Project and the Humanities Curriculum Project exemplify the problems of accommodating innovative curricula within a school structure.

Substance

Finally, all the case-studies were selected because of their intrinsic interest and quality. They are all substantive examples of work in the social education area. The analytical nature of this introduction should not prevent the reader from considering each study in its own terms and on its own merits.

CHAPTER 9: THE SCHOOLS COUNCIL SOCIAL EDUCATION PROJECT

Introduction

The title of this chapter is somewhat misleading: *half* of the chapter is directly concerned with the Schools Council Social Education Project; the other half discusses the Community Studies Course at Rowlinson School, Sheffield. That course grew out of the Schools Council Social Education Project and it is described here, both because of its intrinsic interest as an example of school-based experiential learning, and because of the way in which it illustrates points made earlier in the report about the modifications published projects undergo in practice.

1. The Schools Council Social Education Project

In 1968, the Schools Council launched a three-year curriculum action-research project in social education based at the School (then Institute) of Education at the University of Nottingham. The project team's view of social education was in large part derived from the work of Richard Hauser (who was closely associated with the project, especially in its early stages), and focused on the development of the individual's awareness of belonging to a community or communities which he or she has the potential to affect. A key passage (which has already been quoted in the Introduction to this report to illustrate one possible definition of the term "social education") states:

"The principal aim of the project is to provide an enabling process through which children will

achieve a sense of identification with their community, become sensitive to its shortcomings and develop methods of participation in those activities needed for the solution of social problems. The final goal of the project is therefore to promote in young people an active interest in the affairs of their community" (Rennie *et al.*, 1974, p. 130).

The pre-requisites to the development of such an active interest, the project team argued, were social understanding (defined as understanding of oneself and others in relation to social roles), self reliance, and social skills (such as, for example, "willingness to approach others", and "making practical suggestions to initiate group action").

The project emphasised collaborative action with an emphasis on *group*, rather than *individual*, self-determination. In an interesting contrast with the free-school movement, the Working Paper states:

"Far from being left free 'to do his own thing', the individual is charmed and pressured into active participation in group activities" (*ibid.*, p. 10).

Once settled in groups, however, the students were relatively free to develop their own ideas for investigation and follow-up, or to decide *not* to proceed with action even in situations where teachers felt something should be done. Even so, I would say that, overall, the aim of the project team was social change, although a certain ambivalence in the report clouds the issue.

Most of the project team's effort was concentrated on working with teachers in four schools in the Nottingham area on ways of achieving these aims. The programme they evolved is described in some detail in their final report, published as Schools Council Working Paper 51 (*ibid.*). It comprised a sequence of learning activities which began with *socio-drama*, aimed at developing skills of observation and communication, together with some sense of "being in the shoes of the other". Next, children worked on *profiles*, i.e. on detailed studies, built up through such means as surveys, interviews, photographs and plans, of the main groups of which they were members: the class, the family, the peer group, the local community. The final phase involved children discovering, often as a result of the community profile, an area of concern to them, and constructing a *survey* about it, in order both to explore the topic or problem and to discover whether their concern was shared by others. If the survey suggested they were appropriate, *proposals for action* were then formulated, and implemented where possible. Besides these sequences of activities, various topics relating to social education—man-woman relationships, for instance—were discussed as they were raised through the socio-drama and profiles.

While the programme outlined above emerged from the work in the four schools, none of the schools implemented it completely. To some extent, this was because—as one would expect in an action-research project—the programme altered as it went along, and as the experience of the team and the teachers increased. There were also, however, problems which restricted the development of the work. Some of these were organisational—timetabling, streaming, etc.; others were more directly related to the project—resistance to the teaching methods being advocated, for instance. In one of the four schools, the project encountered considerable opposition. The criticisms it sustained were similar to those mentioned in various parts of my report as commonly levelled against innovative curricula, as this extract from the evaluation study makes clear:

"Both team teachers commented on disciplinary problems stemming from the contrast between the relaxed discipline and demand for maturity made by social education and the general ethos of the school. . . . It was apparent from both interviews that for the most part the staff were hostile to the work of the project, and blamed it for behavioural problems encountered outside its sphere" (*ibid.*, pp. 60–61).

The Working Paper is interesting about the differences among the four schools and the different forms the project took in each.

One chapter summarises the findings of the evaluation study which set out to assess how happy teachers and students were with the work, how well the project's aims were understood and accepted, and how far these aims were being achieved. With the exception of the school quoted from above where the project virtually failed, some degree of success could be shown under all these heads. The majority of the teachers interviewed felt that the social education work was relevant to the students and attractive to them. Its approach was new in that it encouraged active learning and gave students more responsibility. The most common criticisms were that aspects of the programme were insufficiently structured, and that the relatively informal pupil-teacher relationships encouraged by the project conflicted with prevailing mores in the rest of the school. The pupils who had been involved were almost unanimously in favour of the project, and in three of the schools most of their responses indicated that they had some sense of the parameters of the project—although, as the examples below show, with varying degrees of sophistication:

"Social education is a project on all subjects in school, e.g., we do about Nottingham, then old, young and middle-aged people. Drama is added to this. Besides this we do about drugs, smoking, letters of complaint, mentally handicapped people. S.E. is social work, doing things in the outside world".

"It gives you the chance to get out and about. You learn things and hear things and see things that you have never heard before. It also gives you the chance of achieving something and being part of something. It gives you also something to look forward to" (quoted in Rennie *et al.*, 1974, pp. 67, 69).

The first comment concentrates on activities and presents a picture of a scatter-gun approach to topics of social concern, while the second (from a different school) is able to generalise about the experiential elements and the potential for group achievement.

As a result of their experiences, the project team emphasised various features of the work which they felt to be crucial. One was the need for social education to be a continuing process throughout secondary schooling (at least), *not* a late addition to the timetable in the fourth and fifth years. Another was the need for school and classroom structures which encouraged co-operation rather than competition and which allowed students a certain degree of freedom and responsibility. At one level, this entailed students being able to go out of school on their own in lesson time; at another, it entailed their being able, through a school profile, for instance, to raise questions about the organisation of the school itself. The need for teachers to discuss such issues with colleagues before work began was obviously a lesson painfully learned through the project, and is emphasised in the final report.

Press reaction. Two newspaper reviews of Working Paper 51 provide a vivid illustration of the polarities in our society which make social education projects so difficult to establish. In the *Daily Mail* (3rd May, 1974), under the bold headline "Teaching Revolution—scrap discipline and let the children plan lessons, says report", the account begins: "A classroom revolution based on ideas from Communist China and Cuba is proposed in a report out today". The review concentrates on the project's views on pupil responsibility and involvement ("the revolutionary suggestion is that children should no longer have to do what they are told") and on the possible threat to subject teaching. The references to involvement in the community are almost entirely negative ("difficulties arose when children doing projects asked offensive or tactless questions in interviews"). In contrast, the review in the *New Statesman* (12th July, 1974) begins: "*Social Education* is a book which . . . I found impossible to read without some sadness". After outlining the project and citing a positive example of community involvement, the reviewer continues:

"The sadness arises because of the nature of the obstacles that were laid in the way of the project. Many of the teachers not involved were hostile; they were horrified by the habits of independent comment and inquiry ('cheek') picked up by the children . . . The story provides a disturbing measure of the difficulty of vital change. Some such dynamic approach to society is surely an essential feature of education in an age in which every human being needs, not only to have his social wits about him, but to have confident and sensitive experience of social action?"

The influence of the Social Education Project. Five years later, what is the standing of the project? It is not as widely known or discussed as some other Schools Council Projects, and it is interesting to speculate on whether that is because it did not produce any classroom materials. In an article in the *Journal of Moral Education*, David Clark (1976, p. 151) criticises it as ambivalent on the issue of teacher control, citing the passage quoted above about the individual being "charmed and pressured into active participation". Apart from this, I have found little critical consideration of the project, other than articles written by the team. I have heard the project dismissed variously as "too small", "too left-wing" and "too disruptive" (so a faint flavour of the *Daily Mail* criticism remains). I have also heard it reduced to "mostly about socio-drama" and "all about surveys". The project report is honest about the problems encountered in the schools, and it may be that this very honesty has had a discouraging effect. Its concentration on the four separate schools does make for a rather bitty read which may explain failures to grasp the full programme. Also, the programme is *very* full. At times, in its anxiety to include as much as possible—man-woman relationships, for instance, as well as community investigation—the project is in danger of losing its identity and becoming simply an integrated humanities course.

Despite a generally rather lukewarm response, however, the project still has some staunch advocates, and a degree of commitment to it continues at the School of Education at Nottingham. In April 1979, for example, the School organised a Social Education Conference where members of the project team and others in related fields met to share ideas and to take stock of the current situation. Besides this kind of interest, work directly in line with the project aims continues in several places. Two examples which have been quite well documented are the Birmingham Young Volunteers Social Education Project (Mant and Mackin, 1978) and the Watford Social Education Project (Young Volunteers Resources Unit, 1978). In both cases, community workers *go into* secondary schools and develop social education programmes with the pupils. Teachers are always involved as well. An emphasis on group-building and co-operation leads on to community investigation and, sometimes, to community action. Another example of the continuing influence of the Social Education Project is the Community Studies Course at Rowlinson School, Sheffield. I have chosen to concentrate on this example because of the ways in which the project has become established within a school structure, without the intervention of outside workers, and because of the degree of community involvement which has been achieved.

2. Community Studies Course, Rowlinson School

Rowlinson is a mixed comprehensive school of about 2,000 children situated on the outskirts of Sheffield at the edge of one housing estate and near two other areas of mixed council and owner-occupied housing. Originally a technical school, its buildings have been considerably adapted and modernised, and—in a city well-known for its comprehensive schools—it is one of the best-known and most-visited.

The Community Studies Course began with the raising of the school-leaving age in 1972 as part of the non-examination provision for students staying on an extra year. It was staffed by three teachers, including two from the English Department, one of whom had been a member of the teachers' working-party in Nottingham which continued to meet after the Schools Council Education Project ended. The only way to become established in the school as an option for *all* students was as an examination subject, and the Community Studies Course leads to a CSE Mode 3. Some adherents of the original Social Education Project regard this as a compromise which endangers the original aim. Teachers at Rowlinson argue that it was necessary, not only to guarantee accessibility, but also to give the work credibility outside and inside the school. Ironically, the course does not attract many of the academically able students, and there is a tendency for those whose timetable is hard to fill to be persuaded into it. The course takes up two double periods and one single (45 minutes) a week.

The other major departure from the Social Education Project's model is that the course lasts two years only, starting in the fourth year. Until then, students will mostly have studied traditional subjects, with perhaps some integrated work in humanities. Daily form periods are seen as an important part of the school's pastoral system. In these, work on "social understanding, self-reliance and social skills" may have been tackled, but the Community Studies Course staff cannot rely on this. They feel as if they are starting "cold" in the fourth year with groups for whom the whole concept of "community" is a new one.

In this situation, the two years' work has become structured around profiles. Class, family and school profiles are tackled in the fourth year; in the fifth year, pupils undertake an area profile out of which they develop projects for investigation and action. Socio-drama plays some part in the fourth-year profiles. Emphasis is laid on working in small groups.

The profiles in the fourth year help both to give the pupils a sense of identification with their immediate groups (class, family and school), and to make them familiar with some investigative tools—interviewing, collating responses, etc. So a *class* profile may include findings about viewing habits, food preferences (always chips), and amounts of pocket money—presented as graphs, or as written summaries, and necessarily involving all the pupils talking to each other. The *family* profile often consists of more extended pieces of writing about the members of the students' immediate families. Such pieces of writing are structured from suggestions in class, and may cover such aspects as jobs, discipline in the family, and leisure activities. Before the *school* profile is compiled, the class will consider the structure of the school, and have some idea of the hierarchy of roles within it. Similarly, before the *area* profile, some work will be done on the role of the Council. In addition, the whole group will visit the area together. In this way, there is an attempt to ensure some common core of information and experience on which individual and small-group learning may build.

This preliminary work deserves emphasis. The teacher who established the course originally hoped that concepts like "authority" and "hierarchy" would emerge naturally out of the work on the profiles. That did not always happen, and more formal teaching in this area now takes place. Such teaching aims to develop an understanding of social structures which should not only inform the projects the small groups undertake but also help students to see the work they are doing in a wider context. This aspect of the Community Studies Course seems to me to sharpen the focus of the Schools Council Education Project.

The most striking feature of the course is the degree of success pupils have had over the years in initiating changes in the community. Some items from a list of 20 projects selected from those undertaken between 1973 and 1976 give some idea of the range:

Hoping to reduce child cyclists' accidents a group campaigned for, and closely supervised, the making of an adventure cycle track in Graves Park. A mock-road system for younger riders is to follow.

The Council has been persuaded by one boy to erect a handrail on the steeply sloping footpath down to shops on Jordanthorpe.

A farmer who ploughed up a public right of way over his land has been pressured into making it good.

After the presentation of research evidence, plus a 400 signature petition, together with a public meeting, the *Sheffield Star* reports that money for bus shelters has been allocated for this year, including money for one at Jordanthorpe.

Concern about vandalism by younger children led one group to create summer evening activities such as a football match at a local junior school.

A group of girls conducted a survey of mothers' attitudes toward pre-school playgroups and the local playgroup in particular. They produced a sheet of findings and recommendations which they circulated, and they finally helped implement some of their recommendations.

These were projects carried out by small groups (twos or threes) as a result of the area profile. Many involved surveys, plans and letters (usually to the Council). Some, such as the bus shelter project, were continued by groups of students in successive years, until the shelter was finally erected (though in 1979, a group was trying to modify the design to make it less draughty).

The teacher's role in these projects is a delicate one. Those I spoke to were clear about their need to encourage and to facilitate without taking over—e.g. helping students use a directory to find the number of a

Council department, but not making the telephone call for them. Pupils must write draft letters before they can have headed school stationery for their "real" ones—but the teachers will not necessarily feel that they should correct the spelling and punctuation in the letters. The pupils work in the community on their own, with guidelines from their teachers about how to approach and thank members of the public.

Not all the projects are as effective as those cited above. Some are abandoned by the students themselves, either because the need for them is disproved, or because the intricacies of campaigning prove too much. Others are turned down by whatever authorities are involved. But that does not mean that the experience itself has not been valuable. Several of the written summaries of projects show pupils changing direction as they learn that their original proposal will not do, and salvaging something as they do so. The group of girls mentioned above as conducting a survey about a local playgroup, for example, found that mothers felt the playgroup was badly run and did not know how the money was being spent. After speaking to the mothers, the pupils made out a list of recommendations including some about keeping the playgroup open longer and using mothers on a rota basis. Armed with these, they visited the playgroup organiser. In the words of one of the girls:

"She said that it was against the law for a playgroup to be open any longer than three hours with staff on a voluntary basis. . . . The playgroup once tried mothers on a rota basis, but found this didn't work, as the mothers tended to gather together in the kitchen and talk, and didn't really help.

"(She) agreed with us that the playgroup was not publicised enough. So we printed out posters to be placed around Jordanthorpe and Batemoor Shopping Centre.

"We also made a wall chart to show the mothers where the money in the playgroup was going, and how it was spent".

From a later comment by this girl ("some of the mothers seemed to want to make more trouble than this particular problem deserved so on the part of the organisers this took patience and understanding"), it seems clear that her sympathies had swung from the mothers to the organiser. The project had both confronted her with the necessity of weighing up two sides of a dispute, and also given her the means (the wallchart) of easing the situation.

Apart from the advantages accruing to the community from extra handrails and litter bins, the projects may also help local people to express their views and feel they are involved in positive action. I was impressed by the way in which people had written at length on the back of a questionnaire about litter, giving suggestions about what might be done. Although some took the opportunity to criticise the school, none were abusive, or wholly negative. Nor, now, do the officials seem to be. All the letters which I read from Council departments were helpful and courteous (though one official did apparently suggest that things would get done faster if all communications came from the teacher—the educational nature of the work had to be explained to him).

There was no evidence, when I visited Rowlinson, that pupil-teacher relationships within the Community Studies Course ran in any way counter to the spirit of the school as a whole, although the teacher I observed told me that he tended to have a more informal atmosphere than in his English classes. The nature of the work itself dictated informality, since small groups needed to talk among themselves or to go out to conduct questionnaire surveys. But there was no sense that this behaviour was so exceptional that it might present a challenge to other teachers. Aspects of the school profiles—investigations about the use of form periods, for instance, or the process of making option choices in the third year—could obviously be interpreted as criticisms of the school system, but they did not appear to have aroused any hostility. On the other hand, they had not effected any changes either. The school profile, unlike the area profile, is not intended to lead to action campaigns, although students are encouraged to offer constructive suggestions to the Headmaster, who is willing to receive them. Even so, the teacher who initially established the course feels that one of the lessons it taught him was that changes are more easily made outside, rather than inside, schools.

The teachers involved with the Community Studies Course emphasise that it is not an easy course to run, though it is easier than it used to be. At the beginning, it aroused suspicion both inside and outside the school. The success of so many of the projects, some of which have been covered by the local press, has undoubtedly helped. The teachers have also taken care to publicise the course within the school—by putting up handbills about current projects, for instance—and the course now seems well-established. Last year, however, the teacher who had originally set it up left, and another of the team moved over to full-time youth work. Two other members of the English department agreed to take on the course, but the situation highlighted one problem for this kind of work—that it tends to be initiated by enthusiasts with no solid departmental structure behind them to supply replacements when they go. In this sense, the course is not totally secure.

There are also difficulties about accommodating the work within the school timetable. Taking a group out in a minibus to investigate a housing area a little way away for purposes of comparison can take most of a double period in itself. Once a project is under way, there may be long stretches of time in which pupils are held up, perhaps waiting for a reply to a letter. This gives useful experience of bureaucratic channels, certainly, but is frustrating when there are only two school terms in which to complete a campaign (this is when teachers might be tempted to step in and cut some corners). Although pupils keep a diary about their work, and can be urged, during these fallow periods, to write up their findings to date, it is hard to stop them feeling bored. Some of their folders show surveys half-finished and questions half-answered. Despite quite a tight structure of handouts and guidelines for work, the reality, in *written* form at least, sometimes falls short.

Not all the pupils find it easy to choose a project. One teacher described the stalemate between himself and two girls when they were all stuck for ideas: "they stared blankly at me and I stared desperately back at them". In these cases, the success of other projects must make the situation worse. One of the former teachers on the course felt that he had run out of enthusiasm: "For them it's all new. For me it's the same estate and the same litter bins year after year". The others didn't agree, but the possibility of "teacher staleness" in this as in more traditional areas needs to be borne in mind.

Concluding comments

Despite the difficulties mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, the Community Studies Course does appear to have achieved a considerable degree of involvement and *action* in the community. The constraints of the school setting and the demand of the examination system have resulted in the paring down of the Schools Council Social Education Project model to a preparation, through profile work, for the action campaign, with a stronger emphasis on the understanding of social structures than on personal relationships. The narrower programme seems not only viable, but also in some ways more directly-focused than the original project. Despite all the *actual* changes brought about in the locality, social change aims are perhaps balanced by non-directive concerns: the emphasis is more on learning that one *can* initiate change than that one *should*.

The teacher currently responsible for the Community Studies Course emphasises the opportunities it offers for learning from involvement rather than from passive acceptance of knowledge. The teachers' concern, he writes, is with "developing in the children a measure of perception of social problems, an awakening of political issues, and an education in the organisation and arrangement of courses of action". From what I have seen of their work, I would agree and would underline the importance of groups of students neither particularly able, nor, initially, particularly motivated, being able to act on their own initiative in matters of community concern.

CHAPTER 10: THE HUMANITIES CURRICULUM PROJECT

Introduction

The Humanities Curriculum Project was initially sponsored by the Schools Council and the Nuffield Foundation. It was established in 1967 to provide teaching materials and research support for enquiry-based courses in the humanities area with adolescents of average and below-average ability. The Schools Council extended the funding from 1970 to 1972, mainly for evaluation and dissemination. Small annual grants for dissemination continued to be given until 1978 when funding for a new programme of activity from 1979 to 1981 was obtained.

The project director was Lawrence Stenhouse, an educationalist with a formidable reputation, and the project which he and his team developed has had an impact on curriculum theory as well as on classroom practice. Indeed, it is daunting to embark on a description of the Humanities Curriculum Project, both because there is such a wealth of documentation to digest, and because so many studies have been written on it already. The project continues to attract interest and publicity—in August 1979, 12 years after its inception, it prompted a *Daily Telegraph* headline "Schools Council accused of 'Left Indoctrination'". That is a whimper, however, compared with the furore which accompanied the Schools Council's decision not to publish its materials on *Race*. This present account will not deal with that controversy, relevant to social education though it undoubtedly is (but see pp. 10-11 for a reference to subsequent research in the area of teaching about race relations). Nor, except in passing, will it be concerned with the project as an example of curriculum design (Stenhouse, 1975) or with the work on the dissemination and impact of innovation which has come out of it (Rudduck, 1976). The emphasis will be on the materials and pedagogy developed by the project, and on its current phase of dissemination.

Summary of the project

An excellent "crib" to HCP (as the project will henceforth familiarly be called) summarises its strategy thus:

- (a) *Materials*: Nine themes were chosen as areas of enquiry for experimental development. The team produced multi-media collections of study materials and teacher guides in each theme area and in co-operation with the British Film Institute a film-hire service.
- (b) *Pedagogy*: Basically enquiry through classroom discussion, with the teacher, in the role of 'neutral chairman', attempting to promote reflective interpretation of 'evidence' drawn from the theme collections" (SAFARI, n.d.).

("Basically" is a significant modifier in (b) here. In early documents, classroom discussion, although the *main* focus of the project, was only one of several recommended activities.)

The strategy reflects the project's aim—"to develop an understanding of social situations and human acts and of the controversial value issues which they raise"—and its five major premises:

- 1. that controversial issues should be handled in the classroom with adolescents;

2. that the teacher accepts the need to submit his teaching in controversial areas to the criterion of neutrality at this stage of education, i.e. that he regards it as part of his responsibility not to promote his own view;
3. that the mode of enquiry in controversial areas should have discussion rather than instruction, as its core;
4. that the discussion should protect divergence of view among participants, rather than attempt to achieve consensus;
5. that the teacher as chairman of the discussion should have responsibility for quality and standards in learning" (Schools Council/Nuffield Humanities Project, 1970, p. 1).

The project, therefore, is concerned with the promotion of classroom discussion on controversial issues under the guidance of a teacher-chairman with a resource-bank of centrally-selected material. My study will begin with a consideration of the *role of the chairman* in group discussion and will then move on to the printed materials and their use as evidence.

The neutral chairman

The concept of the "neutral chairman" has proved one of HCP's most controversial aspects. In fact, to avoid one of the grosser misunderstandings of the project—that teachers were being asked to do the impossible—the team came to prefer not to use this label but to talk about submission of performance to "the criterion of neutrality", as in the second of the premises quoted above. This premise states the concept very clearly and the project team have amplified it on many occasions. Briefly, their position is that in most classroom situations the teacher's authority is such that any view on a controversial issue which he or she expounds will carry extra weight. To the objection that neutrality is "inhuman" and that the same result can be achieved if teachers state their own opinion openly but stress that it should be considered as one possible viewpoint only, the project team's answer is that in practice this does not seem to work. Teachers have more authority than they recognise.

The concept of the neutral chairman has been both misunderstood (taken to mean abdicating *all* responsibility, for instance) and rejected:

"A case in point occurred last week. The group voted, with one abstention, in favour of 'sex before marriage', reflecting a popular viewpoint of young people today . . . In this situation neutrality went overboard and the group heard the personal views of the teacher-chairman on these profound moral issues, given openly, with sincerity and with no attempt at indoctrination. These views were discussed freely and, at the end, many students appeared to be having second thoughts" (HCP teacher, quoted in Elliott and MacDonald, 1975, p. 13).

There seems to be some confusion here about whether a debate ("the group voted") or a discussion is taking place. In addition, the teacher wants his or her view not only to be heard but to be *accepted*, and yet is also anxious not to be indoctrinating. This is the kind of unthought-through situation which neutral chairmanship aims to avoid.

Even when the concept is understood and accepted, however, it can prove very difficult to implement. For one thing, teachers are being asked to do something outside their field of expertise:

"Genuine innovation begets incompetence. It deskills teacher and pupil alike, suppressing acquired competencies and demanding the development of new ones" (Elliott and MacDonald, 1975, p. 11).

Some of the video-tapes made in the pilot schools show how quickly teachers slid back into their accustomed roles, particularly when groups were slow to respond. And groups *were* slow to respond. The students in the pilot schools frequently resisted neutral chairmanship, at least initially. Their feelings of frustration and bewilderment come over strongly in these two quotations:

Frank: "Why don't you tell us what to say?"

Me: I am not here to tell you what to say.

Frank: "Why the hell do we just sit here? What the hell do you expect? Who do you think we are? What do you think it is, though? Are we just going to sit here? I don't know what to do. How do we know what to do?" (quoted in Coles, 1975, p. 22).

"You suddenly get dumped in the deep end. Suddenly they say they're going to teach us as adults, after teaching us as babies for years" (quoted in Hamingson, 1973, p. 190).

Students' reluctance to address each other or to talk unprompted was often influential in forcing the teacher back into directive leadership. Even when confidence increased, students were sometimes unwilling to disagree openly with their peers, finding it difficult to distinguish disagreement from aggression. Some felt that it was unfair that they should give their views on issues while their teacher remained silent.

Many students also quickly found that the enquiry methods encouraged in HCP classes were unpopular elsewhere:

"Pupils come from Humanities and they can't or won't adjust to a normal teaching situation. They're not ready to work. They come in, sit around and won't do anything until they're told to, and then they don't like being told" (geography teacher quoted in MacDonald, 1978, p. 162).

The various evaluation reports contain many similar examples of comments from teachers hostile to, or suspicious about, this "new-fangled thing" (*ibid*, p. 179). In this respect, the experience of HCP closely parallels that of the Schools Council Social Education Project and highlights the difficulty of introducing innovation into only part of the school day.

In a review of *Towards Judgement*, a collection of HCP evaluation papers, Malcolm Skilbeck (1974) comments:

"When I first saw video-tapes at CARE of classrooms where some exceedingly uncomfortable teachers and glum pupils were acting out the part of neutrally-chaired discussion-groups, I was shocked by the intellectual poverty, the lack of vitality, the general plod, and the uncertainty of the whole thing" (p. 75).

That must not stand unqualified. Some teachers have come to feel at ease with the role and some students have responded with enthusiasm. But the quotation does raise questions which are still pertinent about the degree to which the project's main strategy may be experienced by both teachers and students as prescriptive and inhibiting rather than liberating.

In an interesting paper about HCP work with an adult class, Paul Fordham (1975) suggests that neutral chairmanship is less of an issue in this context, since the teacher's basis of authority is very different from that of most school teachers. Some pre-HCP teaching of adults already approximated to neutral chairing and if—in an HCP class—the tutor does inadvertently disclose his or her own view, it is unlikely to pass unchallenged.

Procedural values

The fifth of the project's premises—"that the teacher as chairman of the discussion should have responsibility for quality and standards in learning"—emphasises that the teacher's neutrality is limited to the content of the discussion. He or she has a duty to promote reflective discussion and to maintain procedural values. The project team are at pains to make it clear that they are recommending *discussion* rather than *debate*, and are more interested in protecting divergence than in achieving consensus. They are also concerned with *reflective* rather than *argumentative* discussion. In order to achieve "quality and standards in learning", the teacher needs to be aware of group processes, and to see that the rules are kept. Both are difficult, especially as most teachers have had little training in group-work. The problem of silences, for instance, is raised over and over again in teachers' reports. Not only do many people find it difficult to tell a reflective silence from an angry one: they often find it almost impossible at first to tolerate silence at all. Also, an understanding of group-work reveals how strong a group's wish for leadership is, and how slight are the cues which can encourage dependence. So, even in regard to procedural matters, teachers tend to find that they have to modify their traditional behaviour—to refrain from asking too many questions, for instance, or from showing approval by nods. In practice, the events in discussion groups constantly confront the chairman with problems of role definition. For instance:

"On this occasion she picked out related statistics intuitively (27 per cent. of girls obtained information from their mothers, but only 7 per cent. of boys learnt about conception from their fathers) but could not express in words why she felt the relationship to be significant. The others in the group tried to find out what she was implying but she was then too self-conscious to articulate further. I felt rather helpless, not wanting her to be disheartened, but not wanting to explain for her" (Hooton, 1975, p. 59).

Why not? Would "explaining" in this context have been too near "instructing"? Or would explaining one student's point have implied teacher approval of it?

One of the chairman's functions is to introduce appropriate evidence. This again calls for very precise judgement—not only, of course, over what constitutes appropriateness, but also over *when* to present a piece of evidence. I have been in a group of adults where the chairman's decision to play a video-tape was attacked as a device to move the discussion away from an area he didn't like. Whether true or not, the challenge drew attention to the manipulative potential in the decision.

Paul Fordham (1975) makes some perceptive points about how a tutor may, through interventions, attempt to impose not an *opinion* but a *way of thinking* about things. For example:

"the tutor's second and third interventions were intended to direct discussion towards one cause of war and, in particular, a consideration of the role of power and power balance" (p. 81).

Could an insistence that a class pay more attention than they wish to a piece of evidence also be a sign of over-directiveness?

These examples are given to show how difficult, in fact, the procedural role of the chairman is. In many ways it seems to me that neutrality is as likely to be contravened through activities like the timing of the introduction of a new piece of evidence as through the explicit statement of a teacher's own value-position. The latter is relatively easily avoided if a teacher is committed to HCP; the former are less easily recognised as non-neutral and therefore harder to remedy.

One of the general guidelines in this area is that the teacher should adopt as collaborative a stance as possible. That means not only explaining the aims and methods of HCP to students before they embark on discussion, but also being prepared to examine a tricky situation as it occurs, and asking for student opinion, both on how the group should proceed and on how far the chairman is achieving neutrality.

The project materials

As was mentioned earlier, the project was committed to the production of materials and published eight packs. Each contains photographs and tapes besides printed matter from a wide variety of sources—fiction as well as non-fiction, cartoons and newspaper articles as well as tables of statistics. Relevant films are recommended. A pack may contain well over 200 items. They sold well in the early years of the project, *The Family and War and Society* doing best. The *Teacher's Handbooks* outline each item and give some guidance about thematic groupings.

There has been controversy on and off (quite apart from the *Race* materials) about the balance of the packs (the *Daily Telegraph* article mentioned quoted earlier was reporting an attack on the *Poverty* pack in the Freedom Association's journal *Free Nation* for "quoting almost exclusively from left-wing writers and newspapers . . ."). Antony Adams (1976) states:

"An inspection of the materials that make up the packs' contents reinforces the view that there is a (moderately) left-wing and middle-class bias underlying the material. It could generally be described as progressively liberal humanist in its outlook" (p. 102).

Members of the team, in retrospect, would probably agree that this was so, though unintended. It has constantly been stated that the packs should be seen as "starters" only and that teachers should add to them and update them. Paul Fordham (1975, p. 90) quotes an adult student who felt that being allowed to bring in relevant materials was one of the most rewarding aspects of the course.

A more persistent criticism has been that the print materials are too difficult for "average and below-average adolescents". In response, the team claim that HCP relies not on the conventional "read-understand-discuss" model but on a model where understanding follows discussion: "you discuss because you do not understand". Lawrence Stenhouse expands on this:

"The second model is a very powerful one in the classroom because it means that you are claiming for kids who have difficulty with reading the same right to read things they don't understand as the able child has. The sixth former or university student is always encouraged to read things beyond his understanding—you might be very pleased to find a sixth former trying to read Plato or Marx on his own, though you would guess he wasn't fully understanding it" (quoted in Rudduck, 1979, p. 36).

There is also quite strong evidence, though it is suggestive rather than conclusive, that HCP has had a positive effect on reading performance (*ibid.*, p. 37). Nevertheless, the feeling that the packs are too difficult is quite prevalent, and I have more than once heard the project virtually dismissed on these grounds.

The current status of the materials is hard to assess. "Expensive packs gathering dust on the shelves" is one judgement that gets repeated. "All too dated now; we mustn't do that kind of thing again" was the comment of an ex-member of the team. Perhaps that reflects a general feeling that the time for such comprehensive packs is over, partly for economic reasons, partly because of a change of fashion towards more sharply focused "kits". Nevertheless the packs are impressive collections, and some of the schools and colleges which bought them still find them a useful resource-bank. The materials turn up, as discussion-starters, in all kinds of classes in schools and further education—often without any reference to HCP, and often used in isolation from each other. But that isolated kind of use is not in line with the aims of the project, as originally conceived.

Evidence

The real purpose of the materials, in the project's eyes, was to provide evidence for the discussion groups which could be seen to be independent of the teacher. Hence the importance of balance in the packs: a neutral chairman needs to be supplemented by as balanced a collection of materials as possible. HCP is *not* about unstructured talk. Nor was it thought adequate to rely on students' own research. So the packs became the means of supplying information to the groups. The term "evidence" has needed explanation, at least to students:

"Boy: Some of the evidence does not back you up at all. So you're back where you started.

Question: I see. So you think the evidence should be used to back you up?

Boy: Yes, that's the use of it, isn't it? That's what it sounds like" (quoted in Hamingson, 1973 p. 194).

In the terms of the project, "by evidence one means any kind of material which is used for its relevance to an issue under discussion rather than for its own sake. In the consideration of value issues no evidence can carry authority, since all evidence implies a value position and needs to be critically examined" (Schools Council/Nuffield Humanities Project, 1970, pp. 9–10). So the function of the packs as evidence is to inform, to illuminate and to extend the discussion.

The use of evidence presents the teacher with several kinds of difficulty. On the practical side, questions of timing have been referred to already. In addition, handing out pieces of paper and allowing for reading time can dampen response. More fundamentally, teachers need to be able to distinguish the kinds of evidence

which different kinds of issue entail (Elliott, quoted in Rudduck, 1979, p. 27). Furthermore, evidence drawn from different academic disciplines may demand different kinds of interpretation. Although the definition implies disapproval of evidence "for its own sake", there are pieces of evidence which need to be understood in *their own terms* if they are to be fully appreciated. One example might be a statistical table. Another might be a film:

"Those concerned with the value of teaching film as a subject valid in itself may have justifiable grounds for suspecting the project's use of film to be, at best, utilitarian and, at worst, impoverishing, though this must be set against evidence that groups seem to be able to come to a level of understanding of art works which may be superior to that gained by a fundamentally artistic approach to them. Again, though, this fact does not dispose of the undeniable problems" (Jim Hillier, quoted in Rudduck, 1979, p. 33).

(The doubling back in this piece seems, incidentally, typical of many of the attempts to argue with the project). Similar concerns to Hillier's have been raised by teachers of English. The practical difficulty here is *when* the specific skills necessary for interpreting a table, or the specific sensitivities appropriate for appreciating film, are going to be developed. Can they be left to other sections of the timetable, or do teachers need to step out of role (and make it clear that they are doing so) in order to provide the framework which will give the evidence its full force? The danger at least as far as English and film are concerned, as Robert Shaw (reviewing *People and Work*) suggests, is that "the prevalent drift towards the 'what' of a communication at the expense of the 'how' will be strengthened by the project" (1971).

Relevance and choice of the themes and issues

The project team make it clear in several places that they are committed to the raising with students of controversial issues which relate to questions of enduring human significance:

"The criterion for selection is not that students are immediately interested in such issues—though they may be—but that they ought to be interested; and that the school has the task of interesting them" (Schools Council/Nuffield Humanities Project, 1970, p. 6).

Certainly, there is a growing emphasis in the literature on the importance of the students' determining the specific topics to be discussed, within the general framework of one of the themes of the packs. It is stated several times that, unless the students recognise areas as problematic, they will not be interested in exploring them. There seems to be an assumption here that within themes of human significance *selected* for discussion (by the teacher) adolescents will find issues of relevance to them. Yet one could speculate that the very fact of pre-selection might turn some students against a theme. Certainly, difficulties arose in the pilot schools, both with students who found (or claimed they found) *all* issues boring, and with others who could not get involved with one particular theme—*Education*, for example. (Jean Rudduck has described in conversation with me how difficult she found it to discover any topic which one particular low-achieving group was interested in discussing. Finally, they settled on "gangs", and brought in their own evidence as a starting-point.)

Paradoxically, there may also be problems when an issue *is* particularly relevant. Several of the descriptions of discussions connected with *Relations between the Sexes*, for instance, reveal considerable embarrassment manifested by giggling, silences, or (in a group of adults) distancing of the topics. It is a real test of a teacher if he or she can get through this stage without infringing the rights of the students to preserve their own privacies. (One of the early transcripts reveals a teacher asking each girl in a group what she and her boyfriend did on the previous night.) Students may very much want an issue to be raised in class, while remaining quite ambivalent about contributing themselves.

Understanding

As Jean Rudduck (1979) writes, "the experience of the project team was that 'understanding' proved to be elusive as a working concept even though many teachers of English and history would also describe the aims of their work in terms of understanding" (p. 38). What is meant by understanding and how it can be assessed are continuing questions for HCP. It is clear from the literature that in the early stages of introducing the work the development of understanding cannot take precedence over the establishment of a working group:

"A chairman must be concerned about quality and standards in discussion but this concern should be viewed from a developmental perspective. It is only when a group is sufficiently relaxed in an atmosphere where students have confidence in each other to handle their ideas sensitively that the chairman can appropriately give the development of critical standards and rigour top priority; although he must always bear this in mind and do what he can to lay the foundations for such development" (Elliott and MacDonald, 1975, p. 154).

It would be facile to suggest that groups rarely reach that stage, but certainly, despite useful sections in the project's latest handbook (Rudduck, 1979), the balance of advice and support has been heavily weighted towards establishing the group rather than towards promoting, or analysing, "understanding".

An associated problem is the question of the relative importance placed by the project on "understanding" of content and on mastery of modes of thought and enquiry. The line appears to be clear about this:

"Very early on in the trials the central team warned teachers about making such assumptions (that 'understanding' is related to a general ability to make rational value-judgements). This view of 'understanding' detracts from the importance of the content. The issues and situations become unimportant in their own right and merely instrumental to the development of a general ability to make value-judgements. The themes of the project were selected by the team not as a means of providing pupils with some practice at making rational value-judgements but for their significance in human life" (Rudduck, 1979, p. 40).

However, passages like this in the project's literature have not been able to prevent many teachers from interpreting HCP as being centrally concerned with the encouragement of skills of argument and discussion.

Other activities

"In its programme of research and development the project has concentrated on the problem of discussion work both because this is a central core activity and because it faces teachers with difficulties of a kind which can be attacked by a central research team. But the discussion is a setting in which other activities are brought to a focus, and from which individual or group work grows.

"It seems to us essential that discussion must lead into and be serviced and enriched by as wide a range as possible of other activities. Not only would one not expect students to sustain very long periods of discussion, but the breadth and depth of the enquiry would be severely limited if it were restricted to discussion alone" (Schools Council/Nuffield Humanities Project, 1970, p. 29).

"Interviewer: 'What do you feel about the Humanities work you have been doing here?'

"Pupil: 'It's not too bad, but it's a bore with Mr. Baker. He does sod all. All you're doing is reading, writing and talking but in the other groups you make posters up and you draw pictures with ideas about war'" (quoted in MacDonald, 1978, p. 148).

Several transcripts from the pilot schools give evidence of activities other than discussion, but related to the discussion themes taking place. These include role-playing, conducting surveys, and researching into areas touched on by pieces of evidence. The team also recommended personal, creative work through which some of the emotional issues could be explored. As the first quotation above suggests, however, these activities are given very little emphasis in the project literature, with the result, it would appear, that they have never come to be seen as essential components of the project's work. Certainly now, as in the summary on page 61, HCP is generally thought of as "materials + discussion" rather than "materials + discussion + as wide a range as possible of other activities". However much the *significance* of activities is stated, they may only be *emphasised* in practice in proportion to the attention they receive in a project's guidelines. And the emphasis may in any case reflect the project team's own feelings about significance. "We never really thought the other bits through", a member of the team told me, "so the whole thing did end up as too verbal".

The current phase

In 1979, HCP entered a new phase of dissemination, "Learning to Teach through Discussion". A prototype one- or two-day course for teachers has been developed, based on a handbook produced by a group of experienced HCP teachers under the co-ordination of a member of the original project team who was responsible for dissemination (Rudduck, 1979). The course, according to the hand-out, is "an exploration of an approach to discussion developed by the Humanities Curriculum Project. It is designed to give teachers attending an insight into the nature of this particular approach and an opportunity to consider whether it has anything to offer them in their own teaching in their own setting".

This indicates that it is the *process of discussion* that has emerged as the distinctive feature of HCP. The emphasis has shifted from the exploration of particular thematic areas through discussion to the use of discussion across the subject range. This can be seen both as a *shrinking* of the project ("discussion" now, rather than "materials + discussion") and as an *extension* (moving into new areas of the timetable). Both can be justified by recourse to the enormous amount of evidence collected during the development years. There are obvious pragmatic reasons for moving away from specific thematic areas backed by materials, ranging from the economic to the motivational. There is also evidence both of a growing interest in discussion as a learning activity, and of the project's success in encouraging teachers to re-think their role in the classroom. For good reasons, it seems to me, HCP is now capitalising on its strengths.

The handbook, *Learning to Teach through Discussion*, is an interesting mixture of extracts from earlier writing about the project which are still seen to have validity, and new sections on aspects which the new focus will highlight more sharply. The experience of the project is put to good use both in supplying evidence (transcripts and tapes, for instance) for analysis, and in pinpointing areas which have proved difficult. The section on 'understanding' is particularly helpful in this respect.

In the book a considerable amount of attention is given to patterns of group interaction and to ways in which these may be reinforced or modified, and this suggests a growing realisation of the importance of group processes. I wonder whether the concentration in the courses on the process of discussion will reveal just how crucial this is. I was struck, when I attended a trial run of a course, by how strongly, as participants, our emotions were aroused by the neutral chairman. I was reminded of experiences in unstructured study groups elsewhere with non-directive leaders or observers. We resented the chairman's refusal to be drawn on his own

views. Our feelings of being manipulated, and of there being a hidden agenda, were very strong and were strongly expressed. (My notes include two comments from other members: "Evidence is Repression", and "hoist with the sacred cow of the neutral chairman".) In the debriefing session afterwards, these reactions were treated, on the whole, as manifestations of a hostile phase which a group has to go through before it can settle—again very much as in non-directive group-work. (Notice was taken of our comments, however. In the contract for course leaders drawn up after this trial run, a significant passage states: "in the periods of analysis we will act more as colleagues of the participants, being prepared to explain our moves and dilemmas, and in this way trying to minimise the impression of inscrutability that the role can give if used outside a situation where its use can be properly justified".) For me the most significant part of the episode was my surprise. Somehow, all the reading and listening about HCP that I had done had set it for me within an academic cognitive framework. The language of curriculum development had not prepared me for an experience I am more used to describing in terms of social psychology. And I wonder now whether some of the difficulties which teachers and students found in the early days stemmed from a similar culture-shock, and whether the project still has some way to go in establishing its particular balance between group-work and the development of understanding through enquiry-based activity.

Concluding comments

A study of HCP raises several questions. The project literature emphasises that students should have a say in determining which topics should be discussed and should be free to express their own views or to keep silent. They should be privy to the thinking behind the project and involved, with the teacher, in assessing the performance of the group and of the chairman. All this freedom and involvement, however, operates within a framework of discussion which is imposed by the teacher and which may, initially at any rate, be quite alien to the students. "All you're doing is reading, writing and talking . . .". The project's assumption that understanding is best reached through discussion may make it a very long way round for those for whom discussion is not a natural mode of self-expression at all (some students on YOP programmes, for instance). I do not wish to imply that discussion should not be fostered, only to question whether it is essential for understanding, and to emphasise how long the process may take.

Similarly, there are questions to be asked about motivation. At times the project suggests that students will be interested enough in controversial issues to tackle difficult evidence and to cope with the unfamiliar mode of group discussion. At other times, it seems to be the other way round: the suggestion is that students will come to be interested in the issues through the excitement of group enquiry. What happens when neither work—when the issues are declared boring, and the approach is disturbing (perhaps the situation described by Malcolm Skilbeck above)? And can such failures always be attributed to inexperienced teachers or to unsympathetic contexts, or may there be shortcomings in the strategy?

I would not wish by emphasising such questions to understate HCP's contribution, particularly through its formulation of "procedural neutrality", to thinking about the teacher's responsibility in the classroom, and about the rights of children to hold and express their own views. Throughout the transcripts and papers connected with HCP, comments from students and teachers about its value recur. Two examples must suffice here:

"At one time, I also felt that HCP robbed a teacher of most of the rewards of his teaching. I now feel there can be few satisfactions in teaching to match that of observing young people develop understanding of serious and complex issues, acquire tolerance of each other's differing opinions, and, in a learning situation, steadily move away from their long established dependence on the teacher" (Sandford, 1975, p. 128).

"... the more I do the more aware I become of my own shortcomings—perhaps the whole thing is really a course in self-knowledge for teachers" (quoted in Hamingson, 1973, p. 166).

I find that last comment particularly telling. It reminds me of the assertion made to me by Patricia Haikin (who edited the *Poverty* pack and is now Head of a General Education Department in a further education college) that she could pick out teachers with an HCP background because of the way they handled relationships in the classroom. HCP's great achievement, I think, has been to make teachers think about the nature of their authority. It is encouraging that its present thrust is an extension of that work.

CHAPTER 11: MAN: A COURSE OF STUDY

Introduction

"Elegant . . . a gem . . . I'll never work on anything as perfect again." Those were the comments of a member of the development team of "Man: a Course of Study" when I asked her about the course. Let that enthusiasm stand as an initial answer to the questions about why an American curriculum for 10-year-olds is the subject of a chapter of this report.

"Man: a Course of Study"—which for convenience's sake I shall shorten to MACOS, although all who have been involved with the project frown at the acronym—is a social science curriculum embodying the ideas of Jerome Bruner who was its "architect" and chief consultant in the early stages. It was developed

in the USA by a team under the direction of Peter Dow, and funded by the National Science Foundation. The source of funding is significant because MACOS was in part a response to American post-Sputnik concern about the adequacy of contemporary curricula to prepare children for a technological age. It was a new departure for elementary-school teachers—both in the cross-disciplinary range of its subject-matter, and in its emphasis on concepts—at a time when social studies was traditionally taught in a narrative fashion within a “soft”, child-centred context. A sense of “newness”, almost of pioneering, is very much part of the flavour of the project.

One of the most striking features of MACOS is that it is a curriculum based upon a theory of learning. It exemplifies many of Bruner's key ideas. These include an emphasis on mastery of the *structure* of a subject—its underlying principles—rather than concentration on sets of facts or specific skills. MACOS is an example of a “spiral curriculum” in that key concepts are revisited throughout the course and successively built upon. *Contrasting* studies play an important part. The curriculum materials reflect Bruner's three modes of representing reality: the enactive (acting out), the iconic (making things) and the symbolic (e.g. using language). They include games and construction exercises, and encourage enquiry-based learning activities. Throughout, there is an emphasis on the importance of learning as a social process. The summary of the course design in the next section illustrates its embodiment of Bruner's theories. For a fuller study, see Jenkins (1976).

MACOS has been disseminated internationally. In Britain it is currently to be found in just over one hundred primary, middle and secondary schools. The Centre for Applied Research in Education at the University of East Anglia is responsible for organising training courses for teachers intending to use it.

The design of the course

MACOS is built around three recurring questions:

What is human about human beings?

How did they get that way?

How can they be made more so?

Children consider these questions through studies of the Pacific salmon, the herring gull, the baboon, and the Netsilik Eskimo. Key concepts recur in growing complexity in these studies: life cycle, innate and learned behaviour, adaptation, natural selection, structure and function, information and communication. These concepts lead towards an understanding of what Bruner calls “the five great humanising forces . . . tool making, language, social organisation, the management of man's prolonged childhood, and man's urge to explain his world” (Bruner, 1966, p. 73).

One of the fundamental principles of the course is the importance of *contrast*, reflecting Bruner's belief in its power as a searching tool. Far from starting with the child's own world and working outwards, as many social studies projects do, MACOS approaches an understanding of man through the study of animals and of a pre-literate human group. Similarities and dissimilarities with contemporary human life are apparent in each study, and provide a refutation to critics who allege that three-quarters of the course is not about man at all. Such an approach draws far more heavily on biology and anthropology than traditional social studies courses, especially at primary and middle-school level.

The pedagogical aims of the course are uncompromising in their emphasis on the *process* of learning. They are:

- “1. To initiate and develop in youngsters a process of question-posing (the enquiry method);
2. To teach a research methodology where children can look for information to answer questions they have raised and use the framework developed in the course (e.g. the concept of the life cycle) and apply it to new areas;
3. To help youngsters develop the ability to use a variety of first-hand sources as evidence from which to develop hypotheses and draw conclusions;
4. To conduct classroom discussions in which youngsters learn to listen to others as well as to express their own views;
5. To legitimise the search; that is, to give sanction and support to open-ended discussions where definitive answers to many questions are not found;
6. To encourage children to reflect on their own experiences;
7. To create a new role for the teacher, in which he becomes a resource rather than an authority” (Hanley *et al.*, 1969, p. 5).

Finally, the underlying assumptions of this Brunerian approach to curriculum are:

- “1. That learning is in good measure a social process by which children and teachers can articulate and share ideas with one another;
2. That competence over a body of knowledge will lead to increased self-confidence and comprehension of one's operating assumptions about life;

3. That the world can be observed, conjectured about, and to some degree ordered and understood using the tools of the behavioural sciences, and that an individual life can be viewed as part of the larger flow of human existence" (*ibid.* pp. 3-4).

These assumptions alone would justify MACOS being considered as a contribution to social education, quite apart from its social content.

Criticisms

In the United States, MACOS aroused a storm of criticism for its alleged radicalism. It was accused of teaching children that man was only a higher order of animal, and that primitive societies which condoned such "anti-Christian" practices as infanticide and wife-sharing were as "normal" as the American way of life. Moreover, the emphasis on co-operative and interactive learning was condemned as "Marxist". I had imagined that such protest has been confined to the American backwoods (Arizona is often quoted, for instance). When I visited the States, however, I was told that MACOS was now virtually dead all over the country, so strong had the lobby against it been.

In England, there has been no public outcry of this kind and, although the take-up of MACOS has been relatively small, those who have adopted it are enthusiastic. The project has been criticised, however, from various viewpoints.

Some critics assert that the specialist contributory disciplines have moved on since MACOS. The current trend, for instance, is now apparently towards emphasising similarities between human and animal behaviour, rather than differences. And some biologists now question the validity of such concepts as structure and function.

Another group of criticisms is concerned with the view of man conveyed by the project. Anthony Adams points out that Bruner's view of man, as expressed through the "five great humanising forces", is a predominantly *rational* one—over-rational, Adams feels, neglecting emotional and aesthetic capacities which might be considered equally quintessential (Adams, 1976, p. 78). Others have seen the course as reflecting a basic optimism and energy which seems American rather than European. (Lawrence Stenhouse apparently asked why the salmon rather than the sloth had been singled out for study!) The third of MACOS' questions—how can human beings be made more human?—begs many more. As Jean Rudduck (1972) writes: "It assumes that humanness is necessarily good. One wonders how Belsen relates to humanness, or where pollution or Rachmanism fit in. We have a phrase in this country that condones petty offences: 'After all, it's only human'" (p. 120).

These criticisms help to remind us of the cultural origins of MACOS—in the East Coast America of the early 1960s. It is a tribute to the *explicitness* of the project's design and underlying principles that such criticisms can be formulated. This explicitness also allows teachers to test the design in practice, and to adapt or modify it. Thus, many of the points above may be met—a different list of humanising forces posited and explored for instance, or a greater pessimism injected—without the course ceasing to be MACOS. David Jenkins considers that any curriculum package is "analogous to an unperformed musical score; paradoxically it is the *clarity* of the score that allows rather than inhibits the variety of possible interpretations. It was this that led Frances Link to describe MACOS as 'an unfinished curriculum'" (Jenkins, 1976, p. 59).

Its clarity of design makes MACOS a rich ground for study from several viewpoints: curriculum innovation; the involvement of scholars in devising school curricula; dissemination; and teacher autonomy (Stenhouse, 1975; Jenkins, 1976). This present study, concerned as it is with MACOS as an example of a social education curriculum, will concentrate on the project materials, the roles of pupil and teacher, and questions of balance within the course.

The materials

The materials are one of the most impressive aspects of MACOS. Leaving aside the Teacher Guides, they fall into three main categories: "field-work data", explanatory booklets, and games. All are characterised by their high quality of presentation.

Particularly remarkable is the use of film—both the sheer amount of it, and its quality. Typical of the thoroughness of the project and the scale of its funding is the fact that it was able to commission eminent scholars to conduct expeditions for it—one to East Africa to film the social behaviour of baboons, and three to the Arctic to record the Netsilik. There are also films on other units of study. All the film is in colour; much is without commentary, relying on natural sound. The chief function of film in MACOS is as *data*. It is presented as evidence, demanding close observation. On the basis of such observation, hypotheses can be formulated and tested, and contrasts and comparisons made. The intrinsic interest of the material—the Netsilik hunt of the caribou, for instance, or the detailed filming of a gull's nest—is a powerful motivator.

There are occasional inconsistencies. The baboon troop film is clearly intended to "teach" the concept of dominance, and the evidence is presented to that end. And the commentary to the herring gull film slips into just the kind of anthropomorphism the project is at pains to discourage:

"The male on the right doesn't know what to do. He is caught between conflicting urges. He makes the very human gesture of looking down at his feet".

Compare that with American children discussing the film:

"'I think it's mean of them not to feed the chicks without parents', says a tender-hearted one.

'I think they're smart to know their own chicks by the spots on their heads', replies her class-mate.

'They're not mean and they're not smart', says a third. 'They're just being gulls, not humans'"

(Ferber, 1970, p. 11).

The film of the Netsilik raises a different kind of problem, that of authenticity. It is, in fact, a *reconstruction* of a way of life. Asen Balikci, the anthropologist commissioned to produce this film record, persuaded a member of the Netsilik to live as he remembered his people doing before the introduction of the rifle—to choose companions and to teach them, if necessary, the old ways of survival. Balikci filmed the results which appear quite spontaneous and undirected. The Teacher Guide recommends telling the children openly that Eskimos do not, in fact, live like this now. Even so, for me some doubt remains about whether this film should be considered as the same kind of evidence as the others.

Reports from teachers attest to the popularity of the films, and to their power in the classroom. They are the main source of data, but there are others: notably, a selection from the field notes of De Vore, the anthropologist who studied the baboon troops; and the explorer Rasmussen's journal of his experiences in the North American Arctic.

The range of booklets includes collections of Eskimo poetry and myths, as well as supplementary information about the animals being studied. There are also concept booklets which tackle head-on, as it were, the concepts already mentioned as key to the course. These booklets strike me as remarkable achievements, managing to explain complex ideas simply and often wittily, with illustrative graphics. In particular, I would recommend the booklet on *Structure and Function* to anyone looking for an illustration of Bruner's famous dictum (already referred to once in this report) that ('any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development') (Bruner, 1963, p. 33).

The third category of materials is that of games and exercises which provide learning experiences through doing and making. For example, in the game of the caribou hunt, the two sides represent the hunters and the prey. The outcome depends in part on the throw of the dice (the direction of the wind? fate?), and in part on the strategy of the hunters. The *analytic* usefulness of the games is emphasised: children are encouraged to record what they did and why; repeated playings of the games are recommended so that a full understanding of the processes can be reached. Certainly, playing the caribou game helps one come to terms with a balance between hazard and strategy. It also, I think, gives the players some flavour of the emotions of hunter and hunted.

An ingenious exercise presents children with the components (illustrated on cards) which the Eskimos have to hand: snow, moss, fish, animal bones, thong and skins, and asks them to design a vehicle for travelling over the snow. After their suggestions have been pooled, they watch the piece of film on which the Netsilik construct a sled. One object is to help them appreciate the Netsilik's ability to take into account the potential of different materials instead of marvelling at Eskimo primitiveness. The exercise also is a powerful spur to problem-solving activity, as shown in this extract from the discussion of three 12-year-old English students:

Phil: I think the flat-bottomed boat-type caribou skin at the bottom is the best thing.

Duncan: But then you'd need runners to go on ice because it would rip easily on ice wouldn't it?

Phil: Not if the caribou skin is frozen.

Duncan: You'd need something to support it on ice. I think Chocko's (Phil's) method of using curved caribou antler runners is good . . .

Phil: It could stick out of the skin like that . . .

Duncan: If the snow is very deep the dogs won't be able to travel through the snow: they'll sink too.

Phil: How about dog shoes?

Duncan: Hey, you lot . . . can you come up to my house sometime and we'll test my dog out when it's snowing" (Quoted in Haynes, 1980, p. 5).

Enquiry/discovery-based learning

The pedagogical aims of the course make it quite clear that children are to be involved in initiating enquiries, developing and testing hypotheses, and using each other as sources of information. The role of the pupils is an essentially active one. Their curiosity is perhaps the most valuable thing they bring with them.

An exercise used on the training course for teachers in this country illustrates one kind of MACOS activity. Small groups are asked to pick out items from an impressive display of unfamiliar, strangely-shaped objects, to describe their structure, and then to suggest their function. Some of the suggestions can be tested—on the course I visited, for instance, a shoe and a ruler were used to see whether one object could be used as a balance or not. Video-tapes of children doing the same exercise showed them as intense and involved as their elders.

This exercise was helping us to distinguish and use the concepts of structure and function, rather than to "discover" them. I suspect there may be some transatlantic semantic confusion about the terms "enquiry" and "discovery". Janet Whitla, who was one of the original development team, told me that they had always

seen MACOS as an enquiry- rather than discovery-based curriculum. By that she seemed to mean one which was not totally open-ended, but which encouraged enquiry and problem-solving strategies. Some such distinction is necessary for, as Jean Rudduck (1972) writes, "the curriculum purports to be enquiry-based, and yet concepts are embedded in the fabric of the course—presumably for students to discover" (p. 124). However the terms are applied, the distinction is an important one. Certainly, parts of MACOS are more like a children's treasure hunt than a prospecting expedition. But that is not the whole picture—original thought and speculation are also encouraged within the course, in keeping with the aim of "legitimising the search".

The course also emphasises the importance of observation. British teachers often express regret that direct studies of the animals covered in the materials are so inaccessible from this point of view ("if only they had picked wood-lice", one said to me recently). Modifications are often made to the curriculum in this regard—herrings, blue-tits and stickle-backs have all found a place in MACOS. It is important that children move from observing the pre-selected evidence of film to the more difficult task of isolating and interpreting behaviour in the field.

Interactive learning

Much of the recommended pupil activity consists of children working together in small groups on shared tasks. This can be contrasted both with traditional classroom "instruction" (all the little pitchers waiting to be filled, as in the opening chapter of Dickens' *Hard Times*), and with individualised learning. The model of interactive learning adopted in much of MACOS is in line with the project's underlying assumption that learning is in good measure a social process. Unlike the pattern in individualised schemes, the children work on the same problems at the same time. But, although they may come up with a common conclusion, their tasks within the group will not necessarily have been the same. Some may have been checking facts in the library while others were drawing charts; moreover, within group discussion, some will formulate hypotheses, while others test them. Thus, there will be both individual and shared outcomes—all affected by the social interaction in the classroom.

Role of the teacher

The assumption cited above states in full "that learning is in good measure a social process by which children and teachers can articulate and share ideas with one another". The role of the teacher thereby becomes more that of a learning colleague than of an instructor. There is also an element of modelling in the role:

"Ideally the teacher is central not as a source of "answers" but as the catalyst of events: as a model of one who explores and questions human behavior and who is visible and available to students in a mutually concerned search for understanding" (Hanley *et al.*, 1969, p. 33).

- If we add to that the goal of the course—that the teacher "becomes a resource rather than an authority"—there emerges a clear, if formidable, picture of what is required. Paradoxically, it may be easier to be a teacher of MACOS if one is *not* a biologist, geographer or anthropologist, since there is then a *real* sense in which one is not an authority, but a colleague in learning. Even so, however, there are likely to be times when the distinction between "resource" and "authority" is hard to maintain. If a child asks one a factual question directly, is it always better to direct him or her on, say, to the library, rather than supply the answer? Couldn't one then be said to be refusing to divulge information? And if the answer is in the library because the teacher has planted it there...? One is back to the treasure-hunt again, in which the child's immediate goal is less important to the teacher, than that he or she should master a strategy without short-cuts. (But a nagging doubt still remains: in ('real life') wouldn't one consult the nearest "authority"?)

In other ways, too, the enabling role of the MACOS teacher is hard to manage. One very successful means of sharing responsibility is to encourage children to ask their own questions after viewing a piece of film, for instance, and to use these as the basis for further enquiry. This involves, however, all kinds of considerations, which the traditional teacher-directed enquiry does not: are the resources to answer the questions available? can the children be helped to understand that not all questions are answerable? how strongly are they motivated to answer their own queries?

The MACOS teacher also has a role in encouraging a mode of classroom discussion in which children listen to and interact with each other (there are similarities here with the role of the neutral chairman in the Humanities Curriculum Project—see Chapter 10). At first, most teachers find discussion a very difficult teaching mode, and not one which they associate with younger (pre-secondary) children. Transcripts of lessons both here and in the United States, however, give impressive examples of experienced teachers keeping their own interventions to a minimum, and helping children to build on, or question, each other's ideas.

The teacher and the materials

It is a pre-condition of an education institution's ordering the MACOS materials that one at least of their teachers should attend a training course in their use. In the States, these were originally five-week courses; in Britain, they currently run for 4–5 days. Whatever the format of the course, this kind of system gives an impression of central project control *vis-à-vis* teacher autonomy, which can be off-putting. By all accounts, the training courses in the States were very directive, as is the tenor of the Teacher Guides. One of the members of the original development team told me that in her opinion MACOS' greatest drawback had been that it made teachers feel inferior. The weight of scholarship behind it and the high quality of the materials had sapped their initiative. They often did not feel free to adapt the course, or to make materials of their own.

This inhibiting effect does not seem to have occurred in Britain. It may well be that the difference is due to the emphasis in the courses here on the principles of pedagogy (learned through use of the materials and involvement in the activities) as a way of helping teachers feel in control. On the course I visited, there were several examples of games and exercises devised by teachers. There was also a conscious effort to replicate a MACOS learning model where the staff were "enablers" rather than "salesmen"/instructors. In addition, it may be that the origins of MACOS are now too remote in time and place for any inhibiting effect still to have force, despite the training pre-requisite. The whole question of the differences between the British and American images of MACOS is a fascinating one, which would repay further study.

Content and concept

The balance in MACOS between the content of the course and the key concepts is open to interpretation. The studies were carefully chosen as contrasting cases to illustrate concepts of specific adaptation. To some extent, therefore, they act as vehicles for the key concepts, as well as providing opportunities for enquiry-learning. Any teaching strategy which ignores those dimensions and concentrates on information-transmission about salmon, gulls, baboons and Eskimos will miss the point of MACOS. That kind of teaching is presumably what Charles Townley (1979) has in mind when he writes with implied criticism of those "who have not yet escaped from what Bruner described as the urge to 'get across' the subject; they still see the content as being important in its own right" (p. 189). On the other hand, Jean Rudduck (1972) is concerned that the concepts should not be allowed to dominate the course:

"It is important to ask whether, in practice, the studies become instrumental to the acquisition of concepts, or whether the concepts can be kept in place and regarded as means towards an understanding of studies which are interesting in their own right" (p. 120).

There is a difference of emphasis here which cannot wholly be resolved by the importance both writers give to the development of *understanding* in relation to the studies.

I have come across very few assessments of the extent to which children have been able to master the concepts, or of their understanding of the coherence of the course. (Its popularity is not in dispute; nor is its success in improving reading scores and general enquiry skills.) The American evaluation *Curiosity, Competence, Community* gives one example:

"Many youngsters were not able to make conceptual distinctions between behavior controlled by innate urges of animal species—the internal drives that are beyond control or understanding by the animal—and behavior governed by man's symbol system for organizing experiences and creating rules of life" (Hanley *et al.*, 1969, p. 38).

It would be valuable to have more information in this area. On the question of the coherence of the course, a teacher in a British sixth-form college told me that his students could understand and use the concepts, but *still* thought the course was about four separate topics: salmon, gulls, baboons and Eskimos.

The role of feeling

While MACOS was being developed and tested in classrooms, Richard Jones, then Professor of Psychology at Brandeis, sat in on several of the lessons and subsequent teachers' meetings. He then issued a powerful attack on the course for neglecting the affective dimension. He argued that reaction to the emotional context in the materials was being suppressed in the classroom, whereas its utilisation would enhance learning. It is important to note that he was not advocating any kind of therapeutic intervention:

"Let us enter it as a fundamental rule, then, that cultivation of emotional issues in classrooms, whether by design or in response to the unpredictable, should be means to the ends of instructing the children in the *subject matter*" (Jones, 1972, p. 137).

The films of the Netsilik were a particular source of concern. One extract from an evaluation conference following a showing of the seal killing illustrates the approach at question:

"Master Teacher: It was a ball! They didn't want to, but they used their heads. What I liked was the din of learning in the room, not only about Netsilik technology but about how to think.

Assistant Teacher: And at the end they were loving it!

Assistant Teacher: They resisted seeing the film a second time ('Oh, all that blood again') but they seemed disappointed when you stopped it in the middle. Is it that they're repulsed or fascinated by the gory parts?

Master Teacher: The gory parts didn't get in the way. I wanted them to think—not feel.

Assistant Teacher: God, that bloody hole!

Unit Co-ordinator: Well, what do we say to ESI? The film serves the purpose at this point, I think, and it can be shown again when we get into the family" (*ibid.*, pp. 19–20).

I find this a telling extract in more ways than one. It supports Jones' claim that the lesson objectives are being imposed over the children's emotional reactions to the dead seal (a very violent episode), and that the emotion is regarded almost as a dangerous intruder which must be kept out ("I wanted them to think—not feel"). The Assistant Teacher's interpolation—"God, that bloody hole!"—makes the point very neatly: the emotion

won't stay out. But against that needs to be set the fact that this occurred at the very beginning of the development process. There is a strong sense in the exchanges of the need to do things properly, to test the lesson as written. It may not be fair to extrapolate too far from such early attempts.

That seems to have been the project team's reactions to Jones' critique. They were taken by surprise, not having known Jones intended to publish; and they felt he over-stated his case. Peter Dow, the project director, had always been concerned to develop the affective element in the course. In response to the criticisms, however, conscious efforts were made in the Teacher Guides and in the training courses to raise Jones' questions for consideration and to encourage teachers to be aware of the emotional power of the materials.

Despite the modifications, Jones' criticisms have stuck, and questions about the emotional component of MACOS are still constantly raised. I think this is largely because the emotional charge of the materials is so high that it does tend to alarm the teacher, and cause him or her to feel out of control of what is being assimilated. The Netsilik film and booklets, for instance, include episodes where a grandmother is left in the snow, where a child stones a gull, where a seal is very bloodily killed. Richard Jones comments on the children on whom the material was tested:

"Moreover, they had begun to develop attitudes towards the Netsilik which were the opposite of those the course was designed to instil. The Netsilik were coming to be seen alternately as savages with no hearts (and therefore too disagreeable to comprehend) and just one more distant society of which it can be said 'they have their customs and we have ours' (thus, too trivial to comprehend). In other words, instead of cultivating deepened awareness of the humanizing forces at work in all human societies, we were dangerously close to teaching generalized attitudes of prejudice and apathy" (*ibid.*, pp. 77-78).

A section in *Curiosity, Competence, Community* explores further this issue of how far children can understand and appreciate *diversity* in human behaviour when their emotions are involved, and examines reactions to the lesson on infanticide (now dropped). It suggests that two factors are important in the teaching of a value-laden issue: "the necessity, if alien human practices are to be introduced, for adequate in-depth exploration and for the recognition of the deep psychological implications of 'taboo' topics" (Hanley *et al.*, 1969). It is worth reiterating Jones' original point here: that this is not "just" a question of whether children are being incidentally upset by learning material, but is a more fundamental question of whether the emotional charge is aiding, inhibiting, or mis-directing the learning. A central problem is that teachers are not, on the whole, trained to be sensitive to emotional arousal in the classroom, and are not confident in this area. It is an issue frequently raised in MACOS training courses in Britain.

Finally, I think there is no doubt that fundamentally MACOS is about rationality, as the five "humanising forces" suggest. After all, it had a case to make against an over-personalised mode of teaching which puts feeling above fact. Although its defenders now make a bow in Jones' direction, and point out how much scope for creative work and sensitivity there is within the course, I never feel their heart is really in it. For them, the strength of MACOS lies elsewhere.

MACOS for the older student

The chief reason for including MACOS in this report is its interest as a curriculum in its own right, rather than as a possible addition to a further education time-table. The question of its viability at this level is, however, an interesting one.

Kathy Sylva, who helped to develop MACOS, herself took an undergraduate version of the course, taught by Bruner at Harvard. She feels strongly that MACOS, as developed, was targeted very precisely at 10-12 year olds, pre-adolescence. Children at that stage were felt to be able to cope with abstract concepts in a way which they would not again until they were at university. As adolescents, they would find the course too remote from their immediate, personal concerns. I find this an intriguing view, but not one generally shared by MACOS enthusiasts who feel that the constraints on teaching the course at higher levels in Britain are the external ones of examinations and subject organisation, rather than developmental factors.

The one current example I have come across of MACOS at post-compulsory education level (excluding teacher training) is at Luton, where it is taught mainly as a foundation biology course in the sixth-form college. This is a non-examination course for students with low CSE passes. The teacher is enthusiastic about MACOS, but realistic about the difficulties of using it at this stage of education with low-achieving students. Far from exhibiting the spontaneous curiosity of 11-year olds, his class is worn down by years of failure at school. Their response to a question is the shortest possible—yes or no, ideally; open-ended questions therefore throw them into a panic. Moreover, their view of education is totally instrumental. They keep "forgetting" whether or not MACOS is an examination course, and asking hopefully about this. "We don't do any work in this class", they say, assuming that work consists of taking notes and memorising them. Nevertheless, they enjoy the films and the games, and—particularly at the time of my visit when the class was totally immigrant—become involved over questions of racial and cultural diversity raised by the study of the Netsilik.

Other, more peripheral, use in the college, which includes showing the films to A-level students, and basing a complementary course on behaviour observation on some of the materials, also indicates that MACOS has considerable potential at this level. The main point that emerges is the sadly familiar one about the problem of introducing enquiry-learning strategies so late in the education process.

It is interesting in this context that EDC, the developers of MACOS, devised a course as its possible sequel. Called "Exploring Human Nature", it contains four units: "Origins of Human Behaviour", "Childhood and the Community", "Managing Transitions: Coming of Age", and "The Individual in Society". As these titles suggest, the course (like MACOS) draws heavily on the biological and social sciences, but with a greater emphasis on psychology than in the earlier project, and with a more immediate relevance to the individual's own situation and to current issues. The course is concerned to explore four distinct but related perspectives: the human being as a member of a species, as a member of a social network, as developing through a life cycle, and as functioning within social institutions. Its pedagogical goals are very similar to those of MACOS. "Exploring Human Nature" was designed particularly as an elective (option) for older high school students, but it was also expected to have a take-up in community colleges, which approximate to our further education colleges. Unfortunately, its field tests were just coming to an end when MACOS was under most fire, and the sponsors, the National Science Foundation, insisted that all the materials be vetted by specially-convened panels of citizens. The resultant delays have meant that the project has never been published.

The influence of MACOS

Although it falls largely outside the scope of this chapter, it is important to add a brief note about the effect MACOS has had on subsequent curricula. Many social studies courses both in the USA and in Britain have followed it in using original source materials, encouraging enquiry-based learning activities, and emphasising underlying ideas rather than information-transmission or narration. Its importance as a curriculum development model is considerable.

Concluding comments

Whether or not it is applicable to students in further education, MACOS repays study as a social education curriculum, partly because it turns out to contain several paradoxes within its clear and coherent design. It seems *both* to present itself as an open-ended enquiry, *and* to wish to convey a particular view of humanity. It is "both the example par excellence of the 'packaged' curriculum and is also presented as open to modification" (Jenkins, 1976, p. 96—where examples of such modifications are given). It recognises that there is more than one path to understanding, and yet does not fully accommodate the demands of feeling. But what it does do, beyond doubt, is stimulate curiosity, and challenge complacency in student, teacher and critic.

CHAPTER 12: PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT TRAINING COURSES AT LINDLEY LODGE

Introduction

Lindley Lodge is a non-profit-making organisation. It was established in 1970 through grants from the Department of Education and Science and industry, and through private donations, to provide personal development training for young workers. There are now two centres—the original one outside Nuneaton, and a second at Swinton Castle in Yorkshire.¹ Both are known as "Lindley Lodge", and both are staffed by Christian communities. In a publicity brochure, the underlying aim is described as being:

"to help young people to understand their own role and value, and to increase their sense of commitment and involvement, both at work and in the community".

Since it opened, Lindley Lodge has proved popular with both employers and young people. Among the good points constantly mentioned by those who have been on the courses are: the experience of working as a group; the opportunity to meet new people; the friendly staff; and the increase in awareness and understanding of oneself and others. Employers comment on increased confidence, maturity and sense of responsibility in their trainees. As a visitor, I found the atmosphere welcoming, and was very impressed by the commitment of the tutors and the quality of the group-work. It is from that basis of proven success that this chapter seeks to explore some of the different elements in the courses and to ask some questions about the values they embody.

The following pages are based on background literature about Lindley Lodge, on a visit I paid to a course, and on a recent study, *Lindley Lodge and After*, carried out by the Grubb Institute of Behavioural Studies (1979b). This study was carried out for Lindley Lodge and is an internal document which was made available to me for the purposes of this report. My visit was to the Nuneaton Centre but the Grubb researchers wrote in detail about Swinton Castle and I will therefore treat Lindley Lodge as a whole—the approach to training, the style and the content of courses at the two centres is virtually identical. Both have attractive premises: Swinton a castle; Nuneaton, a large comfortable house overlooking a cricket pitch with flats for community staff and out-buildings grouped around.

Membership

There are usually about 50–60 members on any one course. Despite the efforts of Lindley Lodge to recruit women on to the courses, the majority is always male—a fact which reflects traditional attitudes to the

¹Since this report was compiled, Lindley Lodge has added a third centre to its operation. This is located at Hollowford, Castleton near Sheffield.

training of women, both on the part of industry and of women themselves. The age-range is from 16 to the early 20s. Reasons for sending young employees to Lindley Lodge vary. Some firms select particularly able people, perhaps both as reward and as encouragement. Others send "problematic" employees—those who don't seem to fit in at work, whether because they are withdrawn, aggressive, or unpredictable. So heterogeneous a clientele, apart from reflecting differing views of Lindley Lodge's function, must be a complicating factor in the conduct of courses, particularly as it is not always made clear to the young people why they are being sent.

There are two basic types of course: those run for one firm only, and those whose members are drawn from a variety of firms. Currently, Lindley Lodge is broadening its scope to include UVP courses, and work with the young unemployed. Until now, the educational level of most members has been in the craft apprentice/young technician/junior management trainee range. Those I met had several O-levels, and a few of them probably had A-level passes in one or two subjects.

Earlier phases

The first courses to be run at Lindley Lodge were described to me as much more "like teaching" than the present model. Students were in classrooms; tutors had to make sure that specific key-points were taught in each session. Next followed a phase when everything that happened was taken as a learning experience. If some students stayed up late and kept others awake, the Course Leader could be called in to hold a session on the spot in which the would-be sleepers confronted their fellows and the whole episode was analysed. In the current phase, there is more structure again but the emphasis is firmly on group-work and awareness-raising rather than instruction.

The basic structure

A typical course at either of Lindley Lodge's centres lasts for twelve days, and covers the thematic areas "Communication", "Leadership and Teamwork", "Relating to Others", "Power and Authority", "Decisions", "Standards and Values" and "Relationships". Some kind of outdoor activity occurs half-way through—for the course I visited it was a walk in the Peak District—and the final event is an industrial simulation which involves the total membership and runs for more than a day. There is usually also a half-day visit to some kind of community institution, such as a centre for the mentally or physically disabled.

The course objectives, as explained to the members in the introductory session, are: "to be more effective (1) in the way I get on and work with others and (2) in understanding myself". It is also explained that the method of working will be through a series of experiences which will be discussed and related to working life. The tutor's role is described as "not generally to teach but to help you to learn" and the student's role as "to be *involved*, committed to the course and to take the opportunities offered". A course "syllabus" listing the thematic areas above is handed out.

Course members are divided into groups of about 10-12, each led by a tutor. Most days consist of a mixture of plenary and group sessions. In plenary, one of the tutors may introduce a new area (or "unit", as they are called); or the whole group may be involved in an activity, such as the game "Starpower".¹ In the small groups, plenary sessions are discussed and the units explored further. Tutors have a range of structured exercises related to the units to use if they wish. They may also spend the session time in analysing the behaviour of the group members in interaction with each other, and in relating such behaviour to situations at work. The exercises come from a variety of sources—currently, the handbook produced by Pfeiffer and Jones (1975) is found very useful. Quite often, tutors introduce students to the concepts of Parent, Adult, and Child used in Transactional Analysis, and discuss situations in those terms. Within the overall structure of the course, they are free to plan their own sessions according to their perceptions of the group's needs. The emphasis is on giving and receiving feedback, and becoming more aware of behaviour in the group, rather than on the *content* of the exercises or discussions.

Staffing

A Course Leader is responsible for the overall organisation and administration of a course. He or she meets daily with the tutors for a detailed analysis of the sessions and provides advice where needed. Staff at Lindley Lodge are at different stages of training. Once fully trained, they take it in turns to act as Course Leaders.

Group-work

As stated above, the main emphasis of the course is on the work done in the small groups. I was able to sit in on one of these for a day and a half, and gained some impression of the kind of processes that occurred. Although it is inevitably of limited validity, I shall draw on that experience here, both because it illustrates some general features of group-work, and because it highlights some of the tensions in the Lindley Lodge programme.

¹In this game, players are given a number of cards of different values and try to increase their total scores through barter. Gradually, status and power are accorded to the players with the highest totals, culminating in their being allowed to alter the rules and make new ones. Although players assume they all begin with the same scores, the initial distribution is, in fact, deliberately unfair. "Starpower" usually arouses strong feelings.

I joined the group of 12 young men on a Sunday, mid-way through the course, which was one with a membership drawn from several firms. Apparently, this mid-point is traditionally a time of low ebb, with members resentful about their "lost week-end". At first, however, this group was in a state of near-euphoria after the whole course had played "Broken Squares"¹. They had "cracked" this game by realising that it required co-operation rather than competition, and were feeling pleased with themselves both for their selflessness and for having seen the light first—"we were the best . . .", "we showed them how . . .". They urged their tutor to praise them: "what did you feel like when we gave the cards away"? Gradually, as they moved from discussing the game to discussing their behaviour in the group, they became less united and more depressed. Through the next session, different members appeared withdrawn, bored, frustrated and angry. Two left the room. Although their return cleared the air somewhat, in the next session after supper rebellion and dissatisfaction were still evident. After complaining that they were spending too much time just talking, and saying that they wanted to do more exercises, they virtually rejected the one they were given. By the next day, there were signs that the group was moving towards a new working phase again.

Throughout these quite violent swings of mood, experienced in some form by most groups of this sort, some impressive strengths were evident. The group had already formed a close relationship with their tutor. Even when they began to criticise and mock him, there was a sense that they still trusted him to keep things together, and to see them through this phase. And he did, indeed, manage to convey an impression of imperturbability which was reassuring. Moreover, an atmosphere had clearly been built up in which these young men found it possible to talk quite openly about personal feelings in a way which they themselves described as unusual. They also talked about their own behaviour in the group with evident perception. At the height of their frustration, one leaned out of the window with his back to the group; another sprawled on the floor reading a magazine; another perched on the back of a chair. As things began to resolve themselves, the latter—on the surface a very self-assured young man, missing his car and his week-end at the pub—remarked: "I'm feeling a bit better now, but not easy enough to sit down yet". The student reading said: "I wouldn't lie on the floor unless I was with people I liked".

There were also, however, signs of underlying problems. One of these, of particular significance at Lindley Lodge, was concerned with relating the group experiences back into the work situation. There were two rather different examples of this. Discussing "Broken Squares", the tutor asked for comments about the value of co-operation at work. One course member immediately replied that it wouldn't be appropriate for him. His firm encouraged competition, and it was not in his interests as a junior manager to supply stock to a neighbouring branch which had run short, since the shortage there might increase his own custom. Other students came in with contrary experiences, and the issue raised by the anecdote was not explored.

At a later stage, when the group was discussing why they all interrupted each other, a rather shy boy who had been singled out as a non-interrupter said sadly: "I behave like this all the time. I hold back to put my point, and don't cut across others. If I go back to work, and *still* do it, I'll never get anywhere . . ."

I felt that both comments indicated a conflict between behaviour implicitly "approved" in the group and on the course as a whole, and behaviour likely to lead to *success* at work. The conflict was not fully examined, at any rate while I was with the group.

More common to group-work in general was a growing unease about the role of the tutor. Comments like "you're trying to psycho-analyse us" and "we've got *you* sussed out now" began to be made by more than one of the members. The tutor was criticised for making them dwell on their behaviour, rather than giving them more to *do*. But, in addition, as the comments above suggest, there was a feeling that he had a hidden agenda, that there were purposes behind the session which were being kept from them. The Grubb study includes several comments from young people who have attended courses, which reflect the same mystification and suspicion:

"They were trying not to be teachers . . . but they were telling us things, though they weren't exactly doing that, more twisting and bending around when they asked us anything to get what they wanted us to say—that's how it seemed to me anyway . . . We didn't know what they wanted us to say, they wouldn't tell us" (Grubb Institute, 1979b, p. 7/14).

I have observed, and experienced, this kind of unease in other groups before where the leader's role is interpretive rather than instructional (there are interesting parallels, too, with the reactions to the neutral chairman in some Humanities Curriculum Project classes—see Chapter 10). It is often said to be a stage that groups have to go through, a necessary challenging and testing of authority (what happens if I lie on the floor? leave the room?). There are likely to be particular problems where the leader *selects* the activity but does not make its purpose explicit and apparently has no interest in shaping its outcome. In general, though, it seems to be an occupational hazard of group-work—uncomfortable to live through, but perhaps necessary if learning is to be accomplished. (Confrontation + care = pain + growth, as one model used at Lindley Lodge expresses it.) In this case, the tutor reminded the group of his role as outlined in the introduction. He directed attention to the behaviour of the group as a whole, and suggested that members were unwilling to reflect on the negative aspects, like their constant interruptions, and their inability to hear what some people were saying.

¹This game involves a group of players (in this case, the whole course) trying to form a number of squares out of cardboard pieces. Success depends on the giving away of pieces to others.

The range of feelings and activities in the group came over to me most strongly in the session after supper where they were given the "Kidney Machine" exercise to do. This involves deciding which one out of a number of people should be selected to go on a kidney machine—in effect, being arbiters of life and death. Brief biographical details are given of the patients—one is pregnant, one a cancer specialist, one a brilliant undergraduate, etc. The tutor left the room while the group discussed. Once he had gone, the members agreed quite quickly to trick him by picking one person almost arbitrarily and refusing to comment on the matter further. After some desultory discussion, they took a vote and decided on the student—"because he's our age". They presented the tutor with their answer and told him how they had come to it, but then, as he accepted it without comment, they *did* begin to discuss—not the decision itself, but the issues behind it. The most rebellious boy, who felt the tutor was "getting at him", was reluctant to tackle the question at all, and particularly resented the biographical details: "I don't want to get involved with these people . . . like, this one's got five children . . . ugh, imagine pulling the plug on her". He wanted to toss a coin. Another revealed his own view that illness was Nature's way of weeding out excess population, and the process should not be interfered with. That led a third to talk about his grandmother's death from cancer. He described his mixed emotions very honestly, and the group listened without interruption and with sympathy: "All the time I was longing to take her in my arms, and, at the same time, I was praying that she wouldn't touch me".

This session had resulted in the expression of a good deal of personal feeling and convictions. Despite the disunity of the afternoon, and the animus against the tutor, the group strength was such that members felt able to talk freely. I was not sure how far they realised that this had happened, or whether they simply saw it as a session in which they had "beaten the system" by refusing to do the exercise "properly". In particular, I felt that the position of the boy who wanted to toss the coin had not fully been recognised either by the tutor or by his peers as an expression of *values*, rather than simply as a refusal to play the game.

Other activities

Besides the plenary and group sessions, there are some opportunities for leisure activities—squash, swimming, and bowling, for instance—and free time in the common-room or bar. There are also one or two sessions in each course rather oddly entitled "Health and Pleasure" for which outside speakers come in. While I was visiting, the speaker was a local police inspector whose topic was "Drug Abuse". Personally, I found his talk unpleasant, with an almost titillating emphasis on gory details, and the occasional factual inaccuracy I would have expected young people to detect. Apart from that, however, the whole style of the session—speaker at the front, students facing him in rows of chairs—was quite different from the rest of the course. The tutors said that the contrast was deliberate, and that it was a welcome relief to the course members to be a silent audience for a change. Certainly, they accepted it, though those I spoke to implied that they had not felt the topic was of direct relevance to them now: "You learn all about it at school, don't you . . .". "Well, it might be different if I knew anyone who took them . . ." (Those one might have suspected did know something about drugs made no comment at all.) I wondered whether this session was a relic of the earliest phase of the course.

Discipline

The disciplinary framework is relatively strict. Staying away for a night is treated as a serious matter. A colleague described to me an episode in which one member managed to get in very late because another had opened a window for him. A considerable amount of time was spent going over this in the full group, with the accomplice being asked to come forward privately, later. The young men and women sleep in separate dormitories at different sides of the house at Nuneaton. If a couple were found in bed together, they would be likely to be dismissed from the course. I was told this was because, besides wishing to uphold the moral principles of the community, Lindley Lodge felt some responsibility in this area to parents and-to the sponsoring firms.

Students are meant to attend all sessions. The Grubb study quotes a Course Leader as saying: "I would encourage anyone I found not in a session to attend it. In fact, I would challenge anyone I found, say, in the billiard room about why they were not in a session" (Grubb Institute, 1979b, p. 8/20). This points up a possible conflict between the group-work and the course framework. Students may sometimes need to relieve their frustration or anxiety by walking out of a group session. It could be unhelpful if they felt inhibited from doing so by the general rules of the course.

The community

Before I went to Lindley Lodge, I had not taken in the fact that it was a Christian community. Once there, the occasion when this is most obvious is at meal times, when whole families are often present and a Grace is said. Community members who are not tutors, or are not tutoring on the present course, use the bar and the common-room and sit with students at meals. There are small children and dogs about, enlivening the atmosphere. Tutors, like other community members, may be on washing-up or serving rotas.

At different times, I was given two different accounts of the rationale for the community. One was that its aim was really to present an example of a value-system in operation—that it was, in a sense, a model for one possible way of life. The tutors do not evangelise. They are known to be Christians, and a notice on the wall suggests ways for anyone interested in exploring Christianity to get more information, but no more

direct approach is made. It was not clear to me during the short time I was there how aware the course members were of the distinctive features of the community—how possible it was for it to function as a model. As a visitor, I was entertained by a husband and wife in the community—he a tutor uninvolved in the current course, she working outside. They told me a great deal about the overall structures of organisation and unity—family support groups, for instance, and regular prayer meetings—and this helped me appreciate the strength of the community much better than I had before. Course members did not seem necessarily to have this kind of experience.

The second explanation for the community was that its function was to support the Course Leader and the tutors, not only by servicing the courses in terms of catering, cleaning, etc., but also by providing spiritual and communal succour. The two explanations were to some extent merged by one of those I spoke to who said that the tutor I had been observing would be deriving his strength from the community to cope with the difficulties in the group. To the degree to which he succeeded, the students would appreciate the value of such a support system.

The Grubb study

As mentioned earlier, the Grubb Institute of Behavioural Studies recently carried out an evaluation study for Lindley Lodge Educational Trust. Both organisations generously agreed to let me see the discussion draft. The study is described as "an attempt to measure the effects of development training for young people" and considerable difficulty was experienced in designing an effective research model. Eventually, through repertory grids, the researchers distinguished five different types of value system held by the young people they studied. These were related to a "mental" and "manual" values continuum. In the study's words:

"Those who embody the mental value system are focused on the individual, on individual and career development and on mental activities. In contrast those who embody manual values are concerned with present well-being, with physical activity and focus on the group rather than the individual" (Grubb Institute, 1979b, p. 6/27).

Lindley Lodge itself, the study suggests, embodies mental values, and the changes that occur in young people do so because of the interaction of this value system with their own:

"Those whose own values corresponded closest to the way they perceived Lindley Lodge were confirmed in their values; paradoxically enough (they) showed little change because there was less need for them to do so. Those whose values differed from Lindley Lodge reacted in a variety of different ways according to their assumptions" (*ibid.* p. 10/2).

Lindley Lodge, it is suggested, provides "a context in which a range of human values are being presented and which are sometimes explored by the members" (*ibid.* p. 11/2).

The study goes on to raise questions about areas which remain unexplored. It argues that the focus is mainly on the individual. So, in the debriefing of the work simulation, the resignation of a member of the organisation was discussed in terms of personal relationship difficulties, rather than in terms of problematic roles or hierarchical structures. (Similarly, during my visit, a tutor told me that one of the problems with the game "Starpower" was that attention—and anger—tended to be focused on its intrinsic unfairness rather than being directed towards members' own behaviour. The main aim was seen by the tutor as the exploration of the latter, rather than, for instance, as an examination of a capitalist society.) The study suggests that the comments and activities which are given attention by the tutors in the groups are those which relate to personal feelings about themselves and others in the group.

The Grubb researchers feel that the vital area which was omitted was the examination of Lindley Lodge itself:

"... it was becoming clear that only certain parts of the course members' behaviour was being taken into account, those parts which concerned their treatment of one another but *not* that aspect of behaviour which was conveying how they felt about the course, the centre, the staff and the community" (*ibid.* p. 8/21).

They argue that, if these areas were open to exploration, the course members would have to come to terms with questions of authority and dependence in a way which they do not at present. Paradoxically, this would make it *easier* for them to transfer their learning back to the workplace, because they would have worked through some of their feelings. Instead, these feelings were contained as far as possible, largely through the friendliness and approachability of the tutors themselves—which in turn were maintained by giving the Course Leader most of the disciplinary function. That very friendliness, however, was often at odds with the situation in the workplace. The young people's solution was frequently to suggest that *everyone* (i.e. instructors and supervisors) should be sent to Lindley Lodge (so that everyone would get "nicer"). The Grubb study suggests that this reaction, in itself, indicates how little they have learned about dealing with authority inside and outside themselves. The researchers feel that Lindley Lodge has the potential to tackle these difficult areas of authority and dependence because of the presence of the community as a source of support.

Concluding comments

I have attempted to summarise some of the main arguments in the Grubb study because it throws such interesting light on Lindley Lodge from the viewpoint of another Christian organisation, and one particularly

concerned with questions of authority and dependence. I read it after my visit and felt that some of my experiences fitted the thesis exactly. However, my own gloss—after a much shorter visit—was rather different. I came away from Lindley Lodge feeling that it was involved in a very complex juggling act—attempting to meet the needs of young people, satisfy its industrial customers, and be true to its Christian values, all at the same time.

In practice, the need to satisfy sponsoring firms did not appear to operate as an explicit constraint on the course programme. The Grubb study describes how seriously the employers they interviewed took the *personal* development of their trainees, even though—as they also point out—experience has shown that the enhanced self-image which may result from membership of one of these courses (or others run by similar organisations) does not necessarily lead to compliance at work. Certainly, there was no sense that the courses were concerned to “make people fit for industry” or any such crude formulation, or that there was any pressure to make them so.

I felt, however, that there was an underlying assumption that the qualities implicitly approved by the course (openness, consideration, co-operation) were uncontroversial with regard to personal development, the values of Lindley Lodge, and success at work. These qualities may assist the latter at some levels of employment, but they are not qualities which universally ensure promotion. Nor are they the qualities which industry and commerce themselves always espouse, as the junior manager's anecdote about stock shortage illustrates uncomfortably. I felt such issues were skirted around, not only in the group discussion, but also by some of the staff.

In a rather different way, the question of whether firms can reasonably expect to have a say in the disciplinary framework of the course (especially as far as the sexual behaviour of their employees is concerned) is, I should have thought, a moot one. It does not seem generally to be regarded as such, which may be because, in this instance, the values of the firms (at least as far as their young workers are concerned) and the values of Lindley Lodge coincide.

More generally, the emphasis on the personal and the individual could be seen as a means of avoiding wider political questions about the organisation of work—a point connected but not identical to the Grubb study's concern about authority. The examples above about “Starpower” and the debriefing of the industrial simulation could be adduced as evidence. Having visited Lindley Lodge, I am sure that no *deliberate* policy of this kind has been formulated, but it is one which could develop almost unnoticed under the strain of keeping all the balls in the air.

One of the problems for the visitor, it seems to me, is to distinguish features specific to Lindley Lodge itself from features of the awareness-raising group-work approach in general. As I have suggested earlier, people often experience group-work as a closed system which is not open to question. It is the “given” within which they are expected to work. How much of a contributing factor is this to the sense—emphasised in the Grubb study—that there are areas of the course not open to confrontation? And again, group-work is quite often criticised for emphasising personal relationships rather than power-structures. It may, in fact, be Lindley Lodge's emphasis on group-work and awareness-raising which makes it vulnerable to some of the hazards inherent within that approach.

In this connection, I wonder whether, in its concern not to evangelise, the community plays less of a part than it might in Lindley Lodge's courses. The Grubb study suggests that its potential as a source of strength to tutors is not fully exploited. Perhaps it might also increase its visibility for course members. If this was combined with a greater openness of debate, then it could be a most interesting model for young people to examine, and a whole new dimension would be added to the courses. Now, perhaps, the community tends to be an unexplained and unexplored area.

I find Lindley Lodge fascinating because it contains within it so many of the conflicting strands of social education, and because it manages its juggling act so well. One picture comes back to me as I think about the diversity of the experience. A rather shy student celebrated his birthday while I was visiting. I watched him looking at the two gifts his group had given him. One was a card with a picture of a golfer and a message about looking after your balls. The other was a Bible.

CHAPTER 13: THREE LIFE SKILLS PROGRAMMES

This chapter examines two North American projects—the Adkins Life Skills Programme, and the Life Skills Course developed by Saskatchewan NewStart. The second is described in more detail, partly because it is more comprehensive, and partly because it has already had some direct influence on British projects (Pearn, 1977b; Ellis and Barnes, 1979; Priestley *et al.*, 1978). Adkins' work chronologically preceded that of the Canadians, however, and a consideration of the ways in which the Canadian project has diverged from it sheds light on both programmes. Finally, a British life skills handbook (Priestley *et al.*, 1978) is used to highlight similarities and differences.

1. The Adkins Life Skills Programme

Winthrop Adkins, now Associate Professor at Teachers College, Columbia University, first developed the concepts of life skills training (and, he thinks, coined the phrase) when, with Sidney Rosenberg, he was working in a small YMCA training programme for black adolescents and adults in Bedford-Stuyvesant, a

run-down area of New York City. He found that his clients had the kind of learning difficulties (anxiety, lack of confidence) which indicated a need for counselling help, but that, typically, they did not respond well to the unstructured group-work which tended to be provided under that heading. In part, it seemed, this was because their problems were cognitive as well as emotional—there were strategies for changing their situation which they simply did not *know*; in part, it was because insufficient attention was paid to the relationship between new insights (on which the work often concentrated) and new behaviour. Also, their multiple practical problems often swamped the counsellor. In any case, on a national scale, there could never be enough trained counsellors to work with the educationally disadvantaged adult population. From a British perspective, it is interesting to note not only that “life skills” grew out of a *counselling* base, but that its formalisation was seen as essential because of the shortage of counsellors in a country we imagine to be full of them. What was needed, Adkins decided, was “a way of achieving counsellor goals by instructional means” (Adkins, 1974). The means, again in his own words, should be “pre-designed, problem-solving behaviour-based learning sequences and resources for teachers as well as counsellors”. The materials would not replace teachers and/or counsellors, but they would enable each to perform the role of the other, and their quality would improve the performance of the average practitioner.

Through a large number of in-depth interviews, the problems most commonly and frequently experienced by the target group—disadvantaged adults—were identified and categorised, before being broken down into their component parts and stated in behavioural terms. Adkins described the process to me like this: “We didn’t sit in our armchair and decide what’s good for them, or what’s needed. We went out, to find out where they hurt, what they were afraid of, what they were anxious about, what made them feel alienated and depressed. We probed until we found the problem that they couldn’t solve. We talked to hundreds of people until we were hearing nothing new, and then we took the various kinds of problems they had described and built learning objectives from them. From that we built these learning packages, thinking out the underlying learning process that they had to engage in, in order to learn a new set of behaviours to be able to cope.” Several broad groupings of problems were identified, but, with limited funding, Adkins has so far only developed one set of life skills units—the Employability Skills series.

Employability Skills series. This is composed of ten multi-media units which together deal with the skills of choosing, finding, getting and holding a job. The units are intended for use by a trained educator with a group of adult, or young adult, students. Each contains four stages: stimulus, evocation, objective enquiry, and application. In the first unit, “Who I Am and Where I Want to Go”, for instance, the *stimulus* stage is provided by a video-tape about two men with very different attitudes to the same job because of their different interests. This provides the focus for the *evocation* stage, a discussion in which members of the group share their own opinions and experiences and realise that they already have some knowledge and ability in the area. In the *objective enquiry* stage, they build on this by considering the distinction between interests and abilities (explained on an audio-cassette) and completing forms about their own interests and abilities and the extent to which these have been reflected in their past jobs (in later units this stage often includes finding or checking information from outside sources). Finally, the *application* stage demands the practice of new behaviour—in the case of this particular unit, a presentation by each member of the group called “Who I Am” in which they relate their past, their interests, and their abilities to their current job plans. This presentation follows the screening of a model tape and is itself video-taped. It is in line with the unit’s general skill objective: “to help adult education students begin to identify those personal characteristics and experiences that have important implications for vocational decision-making”. See Figure 7 for a diagrammatic representation of the unit.

Other units in the series—“Looking Good on Paper”, for instance, or “The Job Interview: How to be Effective”—deal with more concrete topics, but the main features of the programme are the same. In particular, the learning is highly specific. Problem-solving methods are not taught as such; they are always related to the specific situations in which they will be needed, so as to ensure transferability of learning as far as possible. Considerable use is made of audio-visual aids. The stimulus stage, in particular, relies on video-tapes of actors playing out scripted sequences. These are intended to reflect students’ own experiences. They all involve adults, many of them black. The use of video play-back of students’ own role-plays or presentations is also strongly recommended.

Figure 7: The four stages of Adkins’ “Who I Am and Where I Want to Go” unit

<i>Stimulus:</i> framing of the problem	<i>Evocation:</i> group experience of the problem	<i>Objective enquiry:</i> acquisition of new knowledge and skills	<i>Application:</i> demonstration of behaviours
video-tape of 2 truck-drivers in the same job: I satisfied, the other not	group discussion, relating tape to own experiences	individuals analyse past experiences to discover job-related interests and abilities	formal, verbal “Who I Am” presentations, video-taped and analysed by the group

Each unit contains video-and audio-cassettes as well as print material, and the total package is costly (5,700 dollars in autumn 1979). Originally published by the Psychological Corporation, the series' marketing, etc., is now handled by Adkins himself. Would-be users of the materials are required to attend a one-week training course which includes some work in group dynamics (it is assumed that the majority of trainees will already be professional teachers or counsellors). Once trained, they are known as LSEs, or Life Skills Educators. (Even if the London School of Economics did not dispute the use of the acronym, this kind of term does not seem to travel well across the Atlantic.)

Adkins chose to concentrate on employability because it seemed to him "the key to everything", and there is a strong emphasis in the programme on the major part which work plays in life satisfaction. In conversation, Adkins cited as an important part of American culture the ambition to do better than one's father did. One section in the model "Who I Am" presentation is called "Bettering Myself". In one of the video-tapes, a man—depressed by "only" being offered a job in a garage—wonders how to get ahead. Such an emphasis on *aspiration* seems at odds with some of the facts about continuing unemployment, and typifies the emphasis on individual change. There is no consideration, for instance, of the possibility that one might achieve employability but still be unemployed because of the state of the economy.

The take-up of these units has not, been very large, but is growing. In autumn 1979, they were in use in 200 centres in 26 states of the USA. They are used in several federally-funded projects for the young unemployed.

The programme in use. I include at this stage some observations of the programme in use and comments from those involved. While these are inevitably slight as evidence, they are interesting indications of the way in which even tightly-structured programmes become modified in the classroom.

Most of the work I saw was undertaken by the Youth Employability Scheme in Newark, New Jersey, run by the Urban League of Essex County. It provides 10-week courses for out-of-school, out-of-work 16–19 year-olds, who are paid a stipend to attend. Most of the students are black. Besides life skills, they study English as a second language (i.e. "standard" as opposed to "black" English), black literature, and African history. The aims of the total course are to increase students' sense of identity and employability. Most of those I met were verbally quite fluent, interested in questioning a visitor, and clearly at ease in their groups.

The director of the scheme had worked with Professor Adkins and was very enthusiastic about the units. She felt the emphasis on the use of video was a real strength: "All youngsters are hams . . . they'll fall asleep in your lecture, but they'll watch themselves on the screen". I observed the stimulus and evocation stages of the unit on "Planning for Personal Goals". A small group watched a video-tape about a girl who wants to make a demonstration record of gospel songs but never takes any realistic steps towards her aim, and then they discussed the tape and the topic. This discussion was very quiet and sporadic though everyone seemed to have grasped the main points on the tape. When the LSE asked for a volunteer to describe a personal plan that had been successfully carried out, a girl unwittingly reinforced the teaching points by talking about painting her bedroom—which, it turned out, she hadn't begun! The LSE enthusiastically made her out a set of goals and a timetable, but it was far from clear that she would carry out the plan.

This LSE was following the basic unit and the students seemed at ease with the work, if not wildly excited by it. Sometimes, apparently, they get bored by the video-tapes and, despite the careful planning, don't identify with them, usually because they feel the characters are too old. Seeing *themselves* on video on the other hand always seems to be a very powerful experience. The LSEs did not follow the course outline completely. One told me that since the skills like form-filling recurred, he tended to omit most of the repetitions (which, in fact, had been written into the programme for successive reinforcement!). The most striking comment was made to me by Abdullah, a very committed LSE, whose relationship with his group was obviously a strong one (one student gave "getting to know Abdullah" as the best thing that had happened to him on the course). He told me that he liked the units very much, but when I asked him about the emphasis on aspiration and job opportunity, he said "Oh sure. It wouldn't do if I taught it as it is here in the *book*. It's far too idealistic. But I tell them what it's *really* like . . ."

The other LSEs seemed to me perhaps to fall into Adkins' category of "average" practitioners whose performance might be improved by structured resource materials and who were unlikely to question the overall aims of the course. But Abdullah, I felt, was making a distinction between the skills-training approach, which he found useful, and the aspirational ethic about which he had doubts.

2. Saskatchewan NewStart Life Skills Course

In the mid 1960s a federally-funded programme called Canada NewStart was established in most Canadian provinces. Its aim was to develop new training and counselling methods for use with disadvantaged adults. The programme in Saskatchewan was directed by D. Stuart Conger who knew of the Bedford-Stuyvesant work. He invited Adkins to help with the early stages of developing a course in life skills. Although relations are now strained, the Canadians have always acknowledged the debt they owe to the American work, even though the programmes have come to differ in several respects.

Between 1968 and 1972, the Life Skills Course (as the Saskatchewan model will from now on be described) was progressively tested, evaluated and developed. A *Life Skills Coaching Manual* (Saskatchewan NewStart, 1969) was produced, as one of a series of publications. As interest in the course grew, it was introduced

(experimentally at first) into other provinces under the federally-funded Manpower Programme, and was adopted by other institutions. Although use of the course is now widespread, all central funding for its further development and evaluation has ceased.

A major difference from Adkins' work is that, whereas the central feature of the Adkins' programme is a highly-structured multi-media learning package which a professional can be trained to use in a very short time, the central feature of the Life Skills Course is the "coach" trained in life skills methodology, and supported by a manual of 61 lessons (video-tapes and film-strips exist as back-up to the lessons but alternatives to their use are always suggested). The recommended length of the coach training programme is six weeks. There is, however, no stipulation that a would-be coach should already be a professional in a related area. Indeed, it is sometimes suggested that a disadvantaged background is a useful qualification, and that graduates of Life Skills Courses may themselves make good coaches (though this has not proved true in the experience of the YWCA in Toronto). The name "coach" was chosen because coaches are associated with training skills in which they are themselves expert, and because the term was thought to be free from second-class connotations in relation, for instance, to that of "teacher". Nevertheless, one study suggests that the term has in the event attracted some negative connotations (Ministry of Colleges and Universities, 1979, p. 8).

Since there is no central control over the Life Skills Course, recommendations about the length and content of coach training cannot be enforced. This highlights another significant contrast with the Adkins' programme. Where the latter is tightly controlled, and indeed protected by a 10-year copyright and labelled with its originator's name, the Canadian Life Skills programme is much more accessible. Hence its concepts and methodology have been more widely disseminated and it is better known than the American work. At the same time, however, it is also more open to adaptation and distortion. As a result, in Canada at the moment "there is confusion as to which methods, assumptions, principles and expected outcomes distinguish Life Skills training from other forms of training" (*ibid.*, p. 3).

The target group. One respect in which the two programmes are alike is in their definition of their target groups. The Canadian Life Skills Course constantly emphasises its *remedial* nature as a programme aimed at a disadvantaged adult population (in line with the original NewStart funding). One of the basic texts—"*Life Skills: a Course in Applied Problem Solving*" (Hims', 1970a)—gives the following description of "the disadvantaged":

"Some lack the skills needed to identify problems, to recognize and organize relevant information, to describe reasonable courses of action, and to foresee the consequences; they often fail to act on a rationally identified course of action, submitting rather to actions based on emotion or authority. Often they do not benefit from their experience since they do not evaluate the results of their actions once taken, and display fatalistic rationalizations of the consequences. They lack the self-confidence to develop their abilities, and have low, or often surprisingly unrealistic aspiration levels.

"Many disadvantaged have low levels of participation in the society surrounding them; few belong to voluntary organizations; the affairs of the larger society do not attract their participation. They lack effective ways of seeking help from each other and from agencies already in existence, although some form of public assistance provides much of their income. Long periods of unemployment, or frequent job changes mark their work history. They have ineffective inter-personal relationships and lack basic communication skills; they do not use feedback effectively, often thinking of it as hurtful personal criticism. As a result of characteristic marital instability, women often raise the children by themselves. Alcoholism and the use of drugs affect the lives of others. Many find their lives beset by combinations of more than one such handicap" (p. 13).

Whether or not one can accept such a blanket description, it does underline the point that the course *assumes problems* in those who attend it (in a way in which a Living Decisions class in Britain, for instance, would not). Among the groups with whom the work was first tried were prisoners, people recently discharged from mental hospitals, and youth on probation. But it cannot be assumed either that such clients accept that they have problems or that they will be motivated towards the course:

"The typical incoming Life Skills student is not expecting or interested in Life Skills training; he comes for basic education. The typical attitude might be expressed as, 'I don't need Life Skills. I've made it this far in life without this course. All I need is grade 10 and I'll be set!'" (Warren, 1970, p. 121).

Substitute "O-level English" or "City & Guilds" for "Grade 10" and the British further education parallel is striking.

Also useful for visualising the target group are the coaches' descriptions of individual students (quoted in Korzeniowski and Gander, 1974). These bring home both the problems of the students and their potential for disruption. For example:

"In this particular case we can't but feel that we just were not of sufficient incentive (*sic*) to overcome what was going on outside. The home situation appears to be quite unstable and he frequently was up half of the nights. Information that we had was that he did not have sufficient control to resist the use of alcohol and drugs that were a constant temptation in the home environment" (pp. 60-61).

"Whether in the group or out of it he appeared to spend all his time trying to manipulate someone. This utilized a great deal of time as he was a bad manipulator and was obviously inconsistent most of

the time to most of the group. He had at least two or three good honest excuses for every move he made and yet each one was different—depending on what day he was giving it and to whom" (p. 53).

I quote these because they may reassure the reader who gets from the manual an impression of groups of motivated students steadily progressing through the lessons. Such descriptions make it clear that Canadian students with acute problems are very like their English counterparts.

The emphasis on behaviour and on problem-solving.

"Life Skills, precisely defined, means problem solving behaviours appropriately and responsibly used in the management of personal affairs. As *problem solving behaviours*, life skills liberate in a way, since they include a relatively small class of behaviours usable in many life situations. *Appropriate* use requires an individual to adapt the behaviours to time and place. *Responsible* use requires maturity, or accountability. And as behaviours used in the *management of personal affairs*, the life skills apply to five areas of life responsibility identified as self, family, leisure, community and job" (Himsl, 1970a, p. 13).

This definition of life skills is quoted so often in the literature, and by those associated with it, that it becomes a kind of litany. Like the Adkins model, the Life Skills Course concentrates on changing *behaviour*, rather than *attitudes*. To some extent, it tries to dodge the issue raised by this distinction:

"... almost everyone accepts that the description of an attitude requires naming behaviours. With this widely held opinion for support, the coach can think of determining the direction of his training by precise behavioural descriptions of the objectives, without resolving the relationship between attitudes and behaviours" (Himsl, 1970b, p. 42).

The kind of problem this can lead to is illustrated in the lesson on "Listening to Others". This concentrates on teaching the attending skills of eye contact, body posture and verbal following. The coach models these behaviours, and members of the group are video-taped as they practise them. But as Smith and Williams (1974) point out in an important analysis of the lessons:

"... the course should emphasize that these physical signs of following responsibly reflect the *feelings* and the *comprehension* of the listener. If they do not do this, they detract from rather than add to the communication process" (p. 139).

The emphasis on behaviour grew as the programme developed. In its early stages, the course was much more like unstructured group-work. Conger, in a conversation with me recorded for the BBC, describes it like this:

"Our first programme probably followed our personal values as middle-class citizens, with a very strong emphasis on human relations and communications. We found that our population learned these skills and enjoyed them, and it was obvious that they expressed them in their own behaviour within the training centre, both among themselves as adult students and among the staff. As we were situated in a small city of about 26,000 people, it was very easy for me and other members of staff to run across our students, their families and friends, and we got quite a bit of good feedback. People seemed to be learning a number of good and important human relationship skills. But when our researchers then followed the students up afterwards, they found that they still had a great many problems—problems in terms of employment, in terms of serious family relationships, legal situations and so on.

"And so, we felt that if we were dealing with life skills, we had to encompass these areas in a somewhat different way than the purely human relations approach... So we went from almost a purely human relations programme to a balance of human relations, behavioural skills, and knowledge. I think that this was a great step forward, but I'm not yet sure if we have yet developed the most ideal balance of these things."

In a sense, the Canadians had replicated Adkins' findings that a group counselling approach had only a limited effect in changing behaviour. They accordingly shifted, more or less in mid-development, to a problem-solving model, and to what they called "behavioural skill oriented group help"—which follows the maxims "work in the present", "deal with behaviour", "get a commitment for change from the person" and "take no excuses" (Warren, 1970, p. 141).

The lessons. As the definition quoted above indicates, the Life Skills Course covers five areas: self, family, leisure, community and job. Each of the 61 lessons in the manual is related to one of these areas. The lessons, however, are much less specific than in the Adkins model. Many of them focus on strategies or methodologies—for instance, "Identifying Assumptions", "Using Fact-Finding Questions", "Analyzing a Task". The latter, for example, is categorised in the family section, and "concentrates on the rather homely domestic requirement of providing reliable baby sitting". The objective, though, states that "the students working in groups conduct a task analysis and organize a check-list" (Saskatchewan NewStart, 1969, p. 425)—making it clear that the lesson is not centrally *about* baby sitting. Similarly, the objective for the lesson on "Interacting with Police" is "to practise fact finding, attending and helpful behaviours" (*ibid.*, p. 528). On the other hand, in some of the lessons—such as "Looking One's Best" and "Planning and Preparing Low-Cost Nutritious Meals"—the balance between specific content and methodology is much more even. Many of the lessons are concerned with helping the learners recognise that they already have some skills and that their past experiences have been of value—"Surveying Marketable Skills" is a particularly good example of this.

The structure within the lessons is based on Adkins' four stages, but skills practice has been added to the objective enquiry stage, as a kind of rehearsal for application. Also, a fifth stage, evaluation, has been added to ensure that students reflect on what the lesson topic has been, and on whether their behaviour outside the group has changed. This stage often includes "homework", which may mean simply practising the behaviour, but may also mean teaching it to another. The course attaches great importance to this latter idea: "the act of teaching the skill represents a criterion point for the evaluation of skill acquisition" (Himsl, 1970a, p. 23).

Through the lessons, the student is introduced to a five-stage problem-solving process, and is taught a variety of steps and strategies to help with its implementation. For example, as an aid to the first stage—"recognition of the problem" (a very abstract concept)—the student is taught how to describe a problem using the 5W-H system. This means asking the questions who, what, where, when, why, and how. Throughout the course, similar examples can be found of complex processes being tackled through easily memorable strategies, and by the end the student has practised a considerable number of techniques, including brainstorming, paraphrasing, predicting outcomes, and giving and receiving feedback. He will also have engaged in a wide variety of activities, including role-play, trust games, questioning "resource-persons" in the community, and filling in forms and check-lists.

The manual allows for lessons to be dropped, and the sequence altered, though with a certain reluctance: "While you should exercise flexibility in sequencing the lessons when there is a reason for it, don't forget that the suggested sequence has a logical, psychological and empirical basis" (Saskatchewan NewStart, 1969, p. 6). In practice, it is clear that all kinds of alterations and adaptations are made.

One interesting development is that the YWCA in Toronto, which has had a long and successful history of teaching the Life Skills Course, has rewritten the manual (Kampf, 1980). Their handout roundly condemns the original as "too cumbersome, pseudo-scientific and exclusively male in focus to be readily usable by women, especially the non-professional, volunteer group leader", although they approve the underlying goals. In their version, most of the lessons have been simplified, with all the content drawn from women's concerns; and some new lessons have been added.

Some questions. A study of the Life Skills Course and its related literature raises several questions. It is important to state at the outset that many of these were first voiced, sometimes extremely critically, by those involved in the work themselves. Notably, the paper by Smith and Williams (1974)—referred to already—points out weaknesses in the lesson plans and makes specific recommendations for improvement. The funding stopped while work was still in progress, otherwise many of the inconsistencies would presumably have been revised, and a fuller evaluation carried out. Among the major problems exposed in the Smith and Williams study were the fact that the lesson objectives are written in terms of activities rather than outcomes, the lack of emphasis on *quality* of skill performance, and a variety of mismatch between the different stages in lessons, and between lessons.

In particular, Smith and Williams found that some lessons which were intended to teach problem-solving skills were in fact being used to teach human relations skills. They suggest that one reason for this may be an unresolved confusion resulting from the change in direction from a human relations course to an applied problem-solving course. This is related to the continuing tension around the course concerning the balance between group processes and structured outcomes. Both Conger and Smith told me that they would like to see the course more tightly structured behaviourally. Statements like "the structure of the ability being taught must be well known to someone or something in the learning environment" (Warren, 1970, p. 129) make it plain that the course has clear intended outcomes. Groups, however, tend to throw up problems or to go off in directions which cannot be predicted but which signal learning needs or learning opportunities. It seems likely that, in practice, coaches often respond to such group processes at the expense of the intended lesson structure. Some coaches may indeed see themselves more as group facilitators than as trainers. The YWCA in Toronto seems to have gone part-way along this path, although their work is still strongly goal-oriented. They have a tradition of training in group-work techniques which they have found useful in their life skills coach training. When I asked whether the coaches used their group-work background to help them implement a behavioural approach, the Director wryly replied "Once you train them in group-work, you can't get them to teach behaviourally". I took her to mean that interpretation of group process might take priority over structured training.

As in all work of this kind, there must also be tension between the needs of the individual and the needs of the majority in the group. The group structure helps to provide feedback, to give peer support, and to reflect other view-points to each of its members. But it may make any process of individual assessment and diagnosis difficult, and may imply that the needs of its members are all likely to be more or less the same. Some work has been done, in Nova Scotia particularly, on "individualising" the course. This presumably would avoid the group problems, but at the expense of an immediate social context in which to try out behaviours safely.

Another questionable aspect of the course is the extent to which it is successful in tackling what Smith and Williams call "coping skills areas" where skills are applied in real-life situations. Smith and Williams found that the coping skills lessons did little more than *expose* students to the skills—effective practice was not properly covered. Certainly some of the lessons which deal with the outside world seem spread very thin. "Taking Responsibility in the Community", for instance, has as its objective that "each student, working alone and with other students, examines his responsibility to the community, selects, develops a plan, and implements

a community project" (Saskatchewan NewStart, 1969, p. 504). Suggestions include conducting surveys, donating to a Blood Drive, and visiting hospital patients. In the evaluation stage students consider how successful their project was and which skills they practised. The whole lesson is written in a very general way and seems superficial in contrast either with the British Social Education Project (see Chapter 9) where community involvement is explored in some detail, or with Adkins' units, in which skills are made much more situation-specific.

Underlying values. The *Dynamics of Life Skills Coaching* (Curtiss and Warren, 1973), a handbook for coaches in training, outlines the concept of Balanced Self-Determined behaviour. BSD behaviour, as it is labelled, is defined as that which "enables a person to stand up for himself without undue worry, to exercise his rights without denying the rights of others" (p. 37). It is suggested that a life-skills coach should help students develop a repertoire of such behaviours, so that they are not restricted either to passive other-determined, or to aggressive self-determined, behaviours. This formulation is not mentioned in the basic Life Skills Course texts, and it would be interesting to know whether it was a late addition to the thinking behind the course.

It is difficult to pin the Life Skills Course down over the question of its overall aims. It is certainly freer than Adkins' programme of assumptions about the over-riding importance of work. And there is no sense that the lessons about self, family and leisure are included in order to help people be better workers—as there is, for instance, in the MSC's *Instructional Guide to Social and Life Skills* (MSC 1977). However, the statement that "Life Skills, precisely defined, means problem-solving behaviours appropriately and responsibly used in the management of personal affairs" has a flavour of social control about it. The words "appropriately" and "responsibly" may ring warning bells about social engineering in some heads. But, although the texts are vague in this area, they seem to agree that it is up to the student rather than the coach to determine in each situation what will constitute "appropriate" and "responsible" behaviour. This, along with the concept of BSD behaviour, argues for an individual change (or even non-directive) focus.

To some extent, it is possible for the Life Skills Course to dodge issues of social norms because of its emphasis on problem-solving methods rather than on their real-life applications. It is the relatively few lessons which do deal with the latter which beg the questions—"Looking One's Best", for instance, or "Interacting with the Police". The latter begins with the ambiguous sentence "When people meet police in the line of duty, their spontaneous reactions sometime cause them needless trouble" (Saskatchewan NewStart, 1969, p. 528) and the whole lesson walks a tightrope between the implication that using attending and helping behaviours will *change one's attitude* to the police and the implication that such behaviours will help one *control one's feelings* and hence be better treated. A similar tension is evident in other lessons where a wish *not* to prescribe any particular set of social norms seems to be at odds with the need to train specific behaviours in specific situations.

The tone of the manual. I have already suggested that the manual gives a stereotyped impression of the students. This is partly because it is written for coaches who may have had very little training. So each lesson is described in a step-by-step way, and coaches are constantly given suggestions about what to say which imply a remarkably docile audience:

"Tell the students, 'We enjoyed doing the play, but we had a purpose other than enjoyment: we want to use it to learn to describe our feelings'" (*ibid.*, p. 71).

"Point out to the students that there is nothing wrong in pleasureable relaxation and in being an individual, if it does not destroy other roles a person must play" (*ibid.*, p. 137).

These illustrate a kind of priggishness and an assumption of group reaction ("we enjoyed") which grate, at any rate on this reader. I initially assumed that they reflected a cultural difference, but it may be more specific to this particular manual. I tried out on a YWCA coach one of my least favourite phrases: "We shall do an exercise which you will enjoy" (imagine the reactions of craft apprentices). She laughed and commented: "You'd never really say that, would you". At all events, it seems to me that a deliberate effort is required not to let the manual's tone and style destroy its credibility as an aid to working with "real" students.

3. Social Skills and Personal Problem Solving

It is now time to look at some British work. *Social Skills and Personal Problem Solving* is the title of a handbook which grew out of a Home Office project concerned with the design of a training package for prisoners which could be mediated by prison officers. The experience of the project convinced the research team that individuals could be equipped with "take-away" skills which would give them more control over their own lives. An account of the project itself is in the course of publication; the discussion here will be concerned with the resulting book (Priestley *et al.*, 1978) and with the training courses based on it which two of the authors, Philip Priestley and James McGuire, have been running for potential users. The book is primarily aimed at social workers, but is proving to have wider application. Some of the training courses are sponsored by local authority education or social services departments; others are open to individual participants interested in life skills teaching. The work will not be described in detail but will be used to point up similarities and contrasts with the two transatlantic programmes. This is not the only British work in the life skills area—others include CSV's *Life Skills Training Manual* (Ellis and Barnes, 1979) and Hopson and Scally's *Life Skills*

Teaching (1980)—but it is a particularly comprehensive approach. The authors do not use the term “life skills”, but the combination of social skills and problem-solving techniques which they outline is sufficiently like Adkins’ and the Canadian definitions to warrant the comparison.

Theoretical background. The authors are at pains to emphasise their pragmatic approach:

“... an important feature of the contents of this book is that they have been assembled in a way that is fundamentally *atheoretical*. It owes no allegiance to any particular theoretical perspective on why people are as they are, behave as they do, succeed or fail in life. Nor does it endorse the ideas of any one school of thought about how they can be helped to change. Activities have been included on two grounds: that they make sense to the people who are going to make use of them to solve their own problems; and that they *work*” (Priestley *et al.*, 1978, p. 4).

Many of the methods described in the book are derived from education, psychotherapy or learning theory, and these sources have inevitably exerted an influence on the work. But the authors prefer to discuss this influence in terms of a set of values and assumptions rather than in terms of theory, and they emphasise that these values and assumptions were developed while the work was in progress. Two of their “assumptions” are *self-defined problems* and *voluntarism*. Priestley *et al.* assert that people will only be motivated to solve the problems that they feel they have themselves, and that they must be allowed to tackle these even if the professional feels they are not at the root of the trouble:

“He is there to provide the resources that will permit individuals and groups to come to their own conclusions, in their own way and in their own time, about the problems they say they have” (*ibid.*, p. 12).

They also feel that participants must be free to join and leave the group, to reject any activity, to keep work private, and to make any use they choose of the results of exercises. Paradoxically, both these assumptions held for the original prison project: the work was based on the problems prisoners raised—which were not in many cases those they had been assumed to have—and the pre-release courses were organised for volunteers. It may be, however, that those who run courses based on the handbook will not always be able to adhere to these principles. Even if voluntarism operates *within* courses, initial attendance may be compulsory. Nevertheless, the degree of emphasis given to these principles is significant and is observable throughout the work. Early on in the training course I attended, someone asked: “What’s to stop me cheating?” The answer was “Nothing. Who will it affect but yourself?” At no point were participants pressurised to share their self-ratings with others, even when volunteers were hard to find.

Another assumption the authors make, only half tongue-in-cheek, is that of *plagiarism*. As well as drawing on broad disciplines of learning, they have pinched exercises, games and simulations from a wide range of sources. Among these is the *Life Skills Coaching Manual* (Saskatchewan NewStart, 1969), which they rate very highly.

... *a Handbook of Methods.* The sub-title describes the major part of the book accurately. It is a compendium of all kinds of techniques and strategies. Many of the exercises are very short and simple—for instance, “complete five sentences beginning ‘I am ...’”. Others are more complex, involving role-playing and video-feedback. There is an emphasis on what the authors call “take-away skills”—strategies which can be remembered and employed in real-life situations (for example, “five things *not* to say in a risky place, e.g. a pub”).

The exercises are set within a problem-solving framework which involves four stages: assessment, setting objectives, learning and evaluation. Problems are also considered to demand some degree of “knowing”, “feeling” and “doing” for their solution. The handbook posits a curriculum matrix cross-plotting these three categories against the four problem-solving stages, and suggests that each cell of the matrix be envisaged as a filing-cabinet drawer full of resources. Subsequent chapters then describe and discuss methods suitable for each of the stages.

A central tenet of the approach is that users of the handbook should construct their own *programmes*, i.e. that, with the help of the matrix, they should select exercises and activities and build a course aimed at tackling specific problem areas such as “finding work”, “coping with alcoholism”, etc. Examples of programmes are given in the book, and time is set aside during the training courses for their construction. The emphasis on pragmatism is constant—“if it doesn’t work for your group, don’t do it”.

Emphasis on behavioural skills. Like the others, the British project emphasises behavioural change. Although Priestley *et al.* recognise a “feeling” dimension in problem solution, and list various methods in their *Learning* chapter under that heading, they clearly favour the “doing” dimension more. They claim that this is partly because that dimension is less familiar, certainly to social workers, than the non-directive counselling approaches from which many of the “feeling” exercises arise.

On the training course I attended, an interesting episode occurred. The membership consisted largely of social workers but there was also a sizeable minority of prison officers. Several of these criticised the exercises as childish and futile. Their disaffection with the course became evident and began to disrupt some of the work as they tried to discuss their grievances in ones and twos. The social workers then began to mutter among themselves that “the whole matter should be talked out: we should stop the course and discuss what is happening”. The course leaders took no notice of any of this, although they criticised the time-wasting in

the disrupted exercise. At lunch-time one of the prison officers—a Physical Training officer who felt the work had little relevance for him—left the course. The social workers tried for a post-mortem but without success, and the work picked up again.

Questioned about this later, the leaders asserted that they *would* probably have taken the matter up on a “real” course. They felt that a training course was necessarily rushed and there was no time or place for reflection on the group dynamics. The principle of voluntarism must allow people to leave if they wished. They emphasised, however, that this had very rarely happened before.

Granting the point about the training course, I still feel this episode demonstrates very clearly the leaders’ predilection for the problem-solving structure rather than for what Conger would call the “groupie group” approach which seemed to be what the social workers expected. Certainly it illustrated the clash between group process and goal-oriented working discussed earlier. Although the handbook has a strong section on discussion, the group is not given quite the same importance as in the Life Skills Course, and the difficulty of maintaining the balance between group and individual needs is among the problems discussed.

Despite the emphasis on “doing”, I am most impressed by the assessment section in *Social Skills and Personal Problem Solving* where a variety of exercises encourage self-exploration. Reports from the prison project indicate its success in helping men who had never previously examined their motives and actions to begin to do so and to apply criteria of rationality.

Summary: points of contrast and comparison

All three of the projects described are concerned to help adult learners cope better with problems encountered in their lives. They share an emphasis on behavioural change and adopt in the main a skills training approach, although all also draw on awareness-raising techniques.

Both the Adkins Life Skills Programme and the Canadian Life Skills Course are based on research into the kinds of problems commonly experienced by disadvantaged adults. They assume a clientele of this kind with broadly predictable difficulties. Priestley *et al.*, in contrast, place the onus of defining their problems on to their clients themselves. This predisposes their work towards non-directiveness.

The projects differ considerably in scope. Adkins’ Employability Skills series concentrates on the vocational area only (the crucial one, he would argue). The Canadian Life Skills Course consists of 61 lessons which both cover a range of areas and teach a number of problem-solving strategies. *Social Skills and Personal Problem Solving* (Priestley *et al.*, 1978), by calling itself a handbook of methods, effectively sets itself back one stage from the others. It is a book about how to write a programme, not a programme in itself. Although it gives suggestions for constructing programmes in specific areas, it concentrates on generic methodologies.

Some similarities of structure can be seen among the programmes as represented in Figure 8. Although Priestley *et al.* recommend stimulus material, they do not include stimulus among their problem-solving stages—understandably when one remembers that the clients themselves provide the problems for solution. Their whole framework has a much less rigid appearance than the Canadian one but then, as we have seen, that is not as rigid as it looks.

The projects differ in the degree to which they assume that learning can be transferred from one situation to another. Adkins is careful to relate practice to the specific situations in which skills will be likely to be used. Most of the Canadian work, however, and that of Priestley *et al.* assume that problem-solving strategies, once learned, can be applied to a wide variety of situations.

Figure 8: Comparison of the stages used in the three life skills programmes

Adkins	Stimulus	Evocation	Objective Enquiry	Application	
Canadian Life Skills Course	Stimulus	Evocation	Objective Enquiry	Application	Evaluation
Priestley <i>et al.</i>	(Stimulus—recommended, but not one of main stages)	Assessment	Setting Objectives	Learning	Evaluation

There are also considerable differences in the degree to which projects are "packaged". Adkins relies on highly professional, structured multi-media materials with controlled access through minimum training for teachers and counsellors. The Life Skills Course, though based on a fairly prescriptive teaching manual, places a good deal of emphasis on the personal qualities of the coach, and recommends a longer training period—though there is no stipulation that the coach should have any related background. Priestley *et al.*, although running training courses (of various lengths) and recommending programme structures, make no authoritative statements about who should use their materials, or how. Viewed from one perspective this latter approach seems a reflection of their principle of voluntarism applied to the teacher as well as the learner (while their "teacher" may have as little expertise as a Life Skills Course coach, he is certainly treated as more of an adult). Viewed from another (transatlantic?) one, it can appear sloppy.

An important caveat, however, needs to be added to these comparisons and contrasts. In practice all the projects become modified—mostly, it seems away from a highly structured approach. There are a variety of reasons for this but one persistent one appears to be the power of processes within a group to disrupt goals planned for it.

GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABE	Adult Basic Education
A-level	Advanced Level (of GCE examination)
CBI	Confederation of British Industry
CRAC	Careers Research and Advisory Centre
CSE	Certificate of Secondary Education
CSV	Community Service Volunteers
DES	Department of Education and Science
EDC	Education Development Center
EEC	European Economic Community
LEITB	Engineering Industry Training Board
ESN(M)	Educationally Sub-Normal (Mild)
ESN(S)	Educationally Sub-Normal (Severe)
FEU	Further Education Curriculum Review and Development Unit
GCE	General Certificate of Education
HCP	Humanities Curriculum Project
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspector or Inspectorate
ILEA	Inner London Education Authority
ITRU	Industrial Training Research Unit
MACOS	"Man: a Course of Study"
Mode 3	A school- or college-based form of CSE or GCE examination in which the syllabus is set and the papers set and marked by teachers and the whole is moderated by the examining board
MSC	Manpower Services Commission
NICEC	National Institute for Careers Education and Counselling
NYB	National Youth Bureau
O-level	Ordinary Level (of GCE examination)
ROSLA	Raising of the School Leaving Age (used to designate courses for students obliged to stay the extra year)
TA	Transactional Analysis
TEC	Technician Education Council
T-group	Training-group (a type of training in personal interaction)
TUC	Trades Union Congress
TWL	"Transition to Working Life" (Grubb Institute of Behavioural Studies, project)
UVP	Unified Vocational Preparation (a pilot programme of education and training for young people in employment)
WEA	Workers' Educational Association
YFC	Young Farmers' Clubs
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association
YOP [†]	Youth Opportunities Programme (education and training provision for the young unemployed)

LIST OF PROJECTS AND ASSOCIATED ORGANISATIONS

Further information about the projects, materials and organisations below can be obtained from the listed addresses. The code numbers of Schools Council projects have been included.

Adkins Life Skills Programme	Winthrop R. Adkins, Life Skills Education Project, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City, New York, USA
'Art and the Built Environment' (CR 16 01)	see Schools Council Information Centre
BBC Education	Educational Broadcasting Information, BBC, London W1A 1AA
Birmingham Young Volunteers Social Education Project	161 Corporation Street, Birmingham 4.
CARE (Centre for Applied Research in Education)	University of East Anglia, Norwich, NR4 7JG
Careers Education and Guidance (IN 13 03)	see Schools Council Information Centre <i>and</i> NICEC
Careers Guidance Integration Project	see NICEC
Careers and Occupational Information Centre	The Pennine Centre, 20-22 Hawley Street, Sheffield S1 3GA
CRAC (Careers Research and Advisory Centre)	Bateman Street, Cambridge, CB2 1LZ
Cockpit Arts Workshop	Gateforth Street, London NW8 8EH
Communications and Social Skills through the Use of Audio-Visual Media (IN 13 04)	see Schools Council Information Centre
Community Industry	14-15 Stratford Place, London W1
CSV (Community Service Volunteers)	237 Pentonville Road, London N1 9NJ
Community Studies, Rowlinson School	Dyche Lane, Sheffield S8 8BR
EDC (Education Development Center)	55 Chapel Street, Newton, Massachusetts 02160, USA
"Exploring Childhood"	see EDC
"Exploring Human Nature"	see EDC
"The First Years of Life"	see OU Community Education Section
General Studies Project (HU 15 01)	see Schools Council Information Centre
Geography for the Young School Leaver (HU 14 02)	see Schools Council Information Centre
Health Education 13-18 (IN 13 06)	see Schools Council Information Centre <i>and</i> HEC
History 13-16 (HU 13 02)	see Schools Council Information Centre
HEC (Health Education Council)	78 New Oxford Street, London WC1
Humanities Curriculum Project (HU 14 01)	see CARE <i>and</i> Schools Council information Centre
ILEA FHE Curriculum Development Project	Westminster College, Battersea Park Road, London SW11
Industry Project (IN 13 05)	see Schools Council Information Centre
Intaskill	Unit 8, Nechells House, Richard Street, Birmingham B7 4AA
Inter-Action	15 Wilkin Street, London NW5
"Junk Palace" and "Maze"	Colin Blundell, Barnfield College, New Bedford Road, Luton, LU3 2AX
"Just the Job"	Central Offices, Shinnars Bridge, Dartington, Nr Totnes, Devon
Keele Further Education Curriculum Analysis Project	FEU, Elizabeth House, York Road, London SE1

Lancashire Curriculum Development Project

"Learning to Teach through Discussion"

"Let's Go . . ."

Lindley Lodge

"Living Decisions"

"Living Well"

Local Youth Councils Development Project

"Man: a Course of Study"

Moral Education 13-16 (HU 13 01)

National Federation of 18+ Groups

National Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs

NICEC (National Institute for Careers Education and Counselling)

OU (Open University) Community Education Section

Pick and Choose

Political Education Project

"The Pre-School Child"

"The Problems and Effects of Teaching about Race Relations"

"Process of Enfranchisement" Project

"Production Line"

Programme for Political Education (HU 13 03)

Project Trident

ROSLA Project, Bristol

Saskatchewan NewStart Life Skills Course

Schools Council Information Centre

School for All Ages

The School in Action

Social Education Project (HU 11 02)

Social Studies, CSE Mode 3, Vauxhall Manor School

"Starpower"

Starting Points

Blackburn Teachers Centre, 103 Preston New Road, Blackburn, Lancs.

see CARE

see BBC Education

Watling Street, Nuneaton, Warks. CV10 0TZ

see BBC Education

see HEC

British Youth Council, 57 Chalton Street, London NW1 1HU

see CARE and EDC

see Schools Council Information Centre

Nicholson House, Newant, Glos.

YFC Centre, National Agricultural Centre, Kenilworth, Warks. CV8 2LG

The Hatfield Polytechnic, Bayfordbury, nr. Hertford, Herts.

PO Box 188, Milton Keynes MK3 6HW

Adult Literacy Support Services Fund, Room 65, BBC, 252 Western Avenue, London

NAYC, PO Box 1, Blackburn House, Bond Gate, Nuneaton, Warks.

see OU Community Education Section

Dave Sheard, NARTAR, Rossington Comprehensive School, Doncaster

Youth Work Unit, National Youth Bureau, 17-23 Albion Street, Leicester LE1 6GD

see Inter-Action

Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government, 12 Gower Street, London WC1 and see Schools Council Information Centre

Trident Trust, 11 York Terrace East, Regents Park, London NW1 4PT

14 Frederick Place, Bristol BS8 1AS

Occupation and Career Analysis and Development Branch, Employment and Immigration Canada, 150 Promenade de Portage, Hull, Quebec, Canada

160 Great Portland Street, London W1N 6LL

Affective Education Programme, School District of Philadelphia, Room 323, 21st at the Parkway, Philadelphia, PA 19103, USA

see CSV

see Schools Council Information Centre

Lawn Lane, London SW8

Publications Dept., Christian Aid, PO Box 1, London SW9 8BH

Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit, Kingsbourne House, 229-231, High Holborn, London WC1V 7DA

Teenagers in Playgroups

Telephone tapes

TWL Project

UBI (Understanding British Industry)

Watford Social Education Project

Wilderness School

"Working with Young People"

"Young People and Decisions"

see CSV

Counselling—Psychological Services Centre, The University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Texas 78712, USA
marketed by Teletronics Inc., 108 Orange Street, Redlands, California 92373, USA

Grubb Institute of Behavioural Studies, Cloudesley Street, London N1 0HU

Sun Alliance House, New Inn Hall Street, Oxford OX1 2QE

15 Harwoods Road, Watford, Herts.

John Flood, Director, Wilderness School, Box 2243, Goshen, Connecticut 06756, USA

see BBC Education

NCYVS, 26 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3HU

REFERENCES

- ACACE (Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education): *A Strategy for the Basic Education of Adults*. Leicester: ACACE, 1979.
- Adams, A.: *The Humanities Jungle*. London: Ward Lock, 1976.
- Adkins, W. R.: "Life Skills Education for Adult Learners". *Adult Leadership*, June 1973.
- Adkins, W. R.: "Life Coping Skills: a Fifth Curriculum". *Teachers College Record*, Volume 75 No. 4, May 1974.
- Albermarle Committee: *The Youth Service in England and Wales*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960.
- Allinson, C.: *Young Volunteers? A CPF Community Work and Youth Work Paper*, London: Community Projects Foundation, 1978.
- Argyle, M.: *The Psychology of Interpersonal Behaviour*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967.
- Argyle, M.: *Social Interaction*. London: Methuen, 1969.
- Argyle, M., and Kendon, A.: "The Experimental Analysis of Social Performance". In Berkowitz, L. (ed.) *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, Volume 3 New York: Academic Press, 1967.
- Baldwin, J., and Wells, H.: *Active Tutorial Work*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1979.
- Ball, C., and Ball, M.: *Education for a Change*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973.
- Bazalgette, J.: *Freedom, Authority and the Young Adult*. London: Pitman, 1971.
- Bruner, J.: *The Process of Education*. New York: Vintage Books, 1963.
- Bruner, J.: *Toward a Theory of Instruction*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Bel Knap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966.
- Button, L.: *Discovery and Experience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Button, L.: *Developmental Group Work with Adolescents*. London: University of London Press, 1974.
- Cannon, C.: "Social Studies in Secondary Schools". *Education Review*, Volume 17 No. 1, November 1964.
- Clark, D. B.: "Group-Work with Early School Leavers". *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, Volume 7 No. 1, 1975.
- Clark, D. B.: "The Academic, the Interpersonal and the Role of the Teacher in Social and Moral Education". *Journal of Moral Education*, Volume 5 No. 2, February 1976.
- Coles, L.: "Discussing Education in an 'Approved School' Setting". In Elliott, J., and MacDonald, B. (eds.): *People in Classrooms*. Norwich: Centre for Applied Research in Education, University of East Anglia, 1975.
- Cox, A., and Cox, G.: *Borderlines*. Leicester: National Youth Bureau, 1977.
- Crick, B. R., and Porter, A. E. (eds.): *Political Education and Political Literacy*. Harlow: Longman, 1978.
- Curtiss, P. R., and Warren, P. W.: *The Dynamics of Life Skills Coaching*. Prince Albert: Saskatchewan NewStart Inc., 1973.
- Davies, B.: *From Social Education to Social and Life Skills Training: In Whose Interests?* Leicester: National Youth Bureau, 1979.
- Davies, B., and Gibson, A.: *The Social Education of the Adolescent*. London: University of London Press, 1967.
- Day, M.: *Tutors' Manual for Use with the Regional Basic Training Scheme*. Uxbridge: Brunel Institute of Organisation and Social Studies, 1977.
- DES (Department of Education and Science): *Careers Education in Secondary Schools*. Education Survey 18. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1973.
- DES (Department of Education and Science): *Provision for Youth—a Discussion Document*. London: DES, 1975.
- DES (Department of Education and Science): *Curriculum 11-16*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1977.
- DES (Department of Education and Science): *Curriculum 11-16: Geography*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1978a.
- DES (Department of Education and Science): *Curriculum 11-16: Health Education*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1978b.

- DES (Department of Education and Science): *Curriculum 11-16: Home Economics*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1978c.
- DES (Department of Education and Science): *Curriculum 11-16: Supplementary Working Papers*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1979a.
- DES (Department of Education and Science): *Aspects of Secondary Education in England*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1979b.
- DES (Department of Education and Science): *A View of the Curriculum*. HMI Series: Matters for Discussion 11. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1980.
- DES/DE (Department of Education and Science/Department of Employment): *A Better Start in Working Life*. London: DES, 1979.
- DES/Welsh Office (Department of Education and Science/Welsh Office): *A Framework for the School Curriculum*. London: DES, 1980.
- Dhondy, F.: "Teaching Young Blacks". *Race Today*, Volume 10 No. 4, May/June 1978.
- Dickens, C.: *Hard Times*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969 (first published 1854).
- Dixon, J.: *Growth through English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- EDC (Education Development Center): *Getting Involved*. Newton, Mass.: EDC, 1976.
- Eggleston, J.: *Adolescence and Community*. London: Edward Arnold, 1976.
- Elliott, J., and MacDonald, B. (eds.): *People in Classrooms*. Norwich: Centre for Applied Research in Education, University of East Anglia, 1975.
- Elliott, J., and Pring, R. (eds.): *Social Education and Social Understanding*. London: University of London Press, 1975.
- Ellis, R.: "Simulated Social Skills Training for Interpersonal Professions". In Singleton, W. T., Spurgeon, P., and Stammers, R. B. (eds.): *The Analysis of Social Skills*. New York and London: Plenum, 1980.
- Ellis, J., and Barnes, T.: *Life Skills Training Manual*. London: Community Service Volunteers, 1979.
- EITB (Engineering Industry Training Board): *The Technician in Education*. Watford: EITB, 1970.
- Evans, W. M.: *Young People in Society*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1965.
- Ferber, E.: "What Makes Humans Human". *American Education*, Volume 6 No. 4, 1970.
- FEU (Further Education Curriculum Review and Development Unit): *A Basis for Choice*. London: FEU, 1979a.
- FEU (Further Education Curriculum Review and Development Unit): *The Keele Further Education Curriculum Analysis Project: Interim Report*. London: FEU, 1979b (mimeo, unpublished).
- FEU (Further Education Curriculum Review and Development Unit): *Developing Social and Life Skills*. London: FEU, 1980.
- Fielder, R., and Redmond, M.: "An Experiment in Group Admission to the Open University". *Teaching at a Distance*, No. 11, May 1978.
- Fordham, P.: "War and Society in an Adult Class". In Elliott, J., and MacDonald, B. (eds.): *People in Classrooms*. Norwich: Centre for Applied Research in Education, University of East Anglia, 1975.
- Fortune, J.: "Spencer Park and WISP". *Contact*, Volume 8 No. 14, October 1979.
- Gleeson, D., and Whitty, G.: *Developments in Social Studies Teaching*. London: Open Books, 1976.
- Goodey, B.: "Sensing the Environment". *Bulletin of Environmental Education*, Volume 72, April 1977.
- Goodlad, S.: *Learning by Teaching*. London: CSV, 1979.
- Grainger, A. J.: *The Bullring: a Classroom Experiment in Moral Education*. Oxford: Pergamon, 1970.
- Groves, M.: *School and Community*. A Case in Point Series, No. 26. Berkshire: The Volunteer Centre, n.d.h
- Grubb Institute of Behavioural Studies: "Do You Remember up the Lyndhurst?"—a Study of the Lyndhurst Club. London: 1973 (mimeo, unpublished).
- Grubb Institute of Behavioural Studies: *Supporting Young People in Transition to Working Life*. London 1979a (mimeo, unpublished).
- Grubb Institute of Behavioural Studies: *Lindley Lodge and After*. London: 1979b (mimeo, unpublished).

- Hall, E.: "Human Relations Training in a Comprehensive School". *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, Volume 5 No. 2, July 1977.
- Hamingson, D. (ed.): *Towards Judgement*. Norwich: Centre for Applied Research in Education, University of East Anglia, 1973.
- Hanley, J. P., Whitla, D. K., Moo, E. W., Walter, A.S.: *Curiosity, Competence, Community: Man: a Course of Study—an Evaluation*. Cambridge, Mass.: Education Development Center, 1969/70.
- Hanmer, J.: *Girls at Leisure*. London: London Union of Youth Clubs and Young Women's Christian Association, 1964.
- Hargreaves, D.: *Social Relations in a Secondary School*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967.
- Hargreaves, D.: *Inter-Personal Relations and Education*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.
- Hargreaves, David: *On the Move*. London: BBC, 1977.
- Harri-Augstein, E. S., and Thomas, L. F.: "Learning Conversations: a Person-Centred Approach to Self-Organised Learning". *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling* Volume 7 No. 1, January, 1979.
- Harris, A.: "Knowledge and Understanding". Unit 4 in *Open University Educational Studies: A Second Level Course: Curriculum Design and Development*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1976.
- Hayes, J., and Hopson, B.: *Careers Guidance: the Role of the School in Vocational Development*. London: Heinemann, 1971.
- Haynes, L. (ed.) *MACOS ("Man: a Course of Study") National Training and Support Programme Newsletter*, No. 4. Norwich: Centre for Applied Research in Education, University of East Anglia, 1980.
- Hemming, J.: *The Teaching of Social Studies in Secondary Schools*. Harlow: Longman, 1949.
- Himsl, R.: "Life Skills: a Course in Applied Problem Solving". In Mullen, V. W. S. (ed.): *Readings in Life Skills*. Prince Albert: Saskatchewan NewStart Inc., 1970a.
- Himsl, R.: "Creating a Life Skills Lesson". In Mullen, V.W.S. (ed.): *Readings in Life Skills*. Prince Albert: Saskatchewan NewStart Inc. 1970b.
- Hooton, P.: "Making Judgements in the Classroom". In Elliott, J. and MacDonald, B. (eds.): *People in Classrooms*. Norwich: Centre for Applied Research in Education, University of East Anglia, 1975.
- Hopson, B., and Hough, P.: *Exercises in Personal and Career Development*. Cambridge: CRAC, 1973.
- Hopson, B., and Scally, M.: *Life Skills Teaching*. Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill, 1980.
- ITRU (Industrial Training Research Unit): *The A-Z Study*. Cambridge: ITRU, 1979.
- Inman, S.: "Whose Values?" *Teaching London Kids*, No. 7, 1976.
- Isaacs, S.: *Childhood and After*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1968.
- Jenkins, D.: "Man: a Course of Study". Units 14-15, Part 3 in *Open University Educational Studies: A Second Level Course: Curriculum Design and Development*. Milton Keynes: The Open University Press, 1976.
- Jones, H. A., and Charnley, A. H.: *Adult Literacy*. London: National Institute of Adult Education, n.d.
- Jones, R. M.: *Fantasy and Feeling in Education*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972. (Published in USA by Harper & Row Publishers Inc., New York).
- Kampf, R. (ed.): "Discovering Life Skills with Women", Volume 2. Toronto: YMCA of Metropolitan Toronto 1976, 1980.
- Korzeniowski, A., and Gander, W.: "Manitoba Probation Directorate Life Skills Evaluation". In Training Research and Development Station: *Evaluations of Life Skills Training*. Prince Albert: Saskatchewan NewStart Inc., 1974.
- LABC (Lancashire Association of Boys' Clubs): "'Advanced' 'Adjustment to Industry' Course, Hammarbank, Windermere: Week 24th/28th July, 1978". (mimeo).
- Law, W. G.: *Decide for Yourself*. Cambridge: CRAC, 1977 (2nd revised edition).
- Law, W. G., and Watts, A. G.: *Schools, Careers and Community*. London: CIO Publishing, 1977.
- Lawton, D., and Dufour, B.: *The New Social Studies*. London: Heinemann, 1973.
- Long, S.: "Club Democracy". *Challenge*, Winter 1979.
- Lorac, C., and Weiss, M.: *Imagination and Technique* (working title). "Communication through Pupil-Produced Audio-Visual Media". (Publisher not yet negotiated) 1980.

- Lovett, T.: "Community Adult Education". *Studies in Adult Education*, Volume 3 No. 1, April 1971.
- Lukes, J.: "School Sociology and Social Studies in Humberside". *The Social Science Teacher*, Volume 9 No 2, December 1979.
- MacDonald, B.: *The Experience of Innovation* (Volume 2 of the revised edition of *Towards Judgement*). Norwich: Centre for Applied Research in Education, University of East Anglia, 1978.
- McPhail, P.: "The Schools Council Moral Education Projects". *Ideas*, No. 28, June 1974.
- McPhail, P., Ungood-Thomas, J. R., and Chapman, H.: *Moral Education in the Secondary School*. Harlow: Longman, 1972.
- MSC (Manpower Services Commission): *Instructional Guide to Social and Life Skills*. London: MSC, 1977.
- Mant, J., and Mackin, R.: *BYV Schools Social Education Project* (report to Birmingham Education Authority Inspectors/Advisors). February 1978 (mimeo).
- Media Project: *The "Just the Job" Project—a Multi-Media Approach to Helping the Young Unemployed* (Case Study No. 2). Berkhamsted: The Volunteer Centre, 1978.
- Meighan, R., and Roberts, M.: "Autonomous Study and Education Ideologies: a Review of Some Theoretical and Practical Issues with Special Reference to the Schools Council General Studies Project". *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, Volume 11 No. 1, 1979.
- Melhuish, E.: "An Approach to Teaching Doctors Social Skills". In Singleton, W. T., Spurgeon, P., and Stammers, R. B. (eds.): *The Analysis of Social Skills*. New York and London: Plenum, 1980.
- Milson-Fairbairn Committee: *Youth and Community Work in the 70s*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1969.
- Ministry of Colleges and Universities: *Life Skills Coach Training Program*. Training Improvement Project No. 7874. Ontario: Ministry of Colleges and Universities, 1979 (mimeo).
- Morgan, R. G. T.: "A Critical Survey of Training in Interactive Skills". In Rackham, N., Honey, P., and Colbert, M.: *Developing Interactive Skills*. Guilsborough: Wellens, 1971.
- Morris, B.: *Objectives and Perspectives in Education*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.
- NEC (National Extension College): *Basic Education*, Volume 1 No.1, 1979.
- NYB (National Youth Bureau): Explanatory Leaflet. Leicester: NYB, n.d.
- NYB (National Youth Bureau): *The Youth Service—Past and Present*. Leicester: NYB, 1978 (mimeo).
- Newman, M.: *The Poor Cousin*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1979.
- Page, W. R.: *Introducing the Younger Woman*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965.
- Pearn, M.: *CRAMP: a Guide to Training Decisions*. Cambridge: ITRU, 1977a.
- Pearn, M.: *The CRAMP Approach to the Teaching of Social and Life Skills and a Glossary of Selected Social Skills Training Terms*. ITRU Research Paper TR7. Cambridge: ITRU, 1977b.
- Pendleton, D. A.: "Assessing the communication difficulty in general practice consultations". In Osborne, D. J., Gruneberg, M. M., and Eiser, J. R. (eds.): *Research in Psychology and Medicine* Vol. 2. London: Academic Press, 1979.
- Pendleton, D. A., and Furnham, A.: "Skills—a Paradigm for Applied Social Psychological Research". In Singleton, W. T., Spurgeon, P., and Stammers, R. B. (eds.): *The Analysis of Social Skills*. New York and London: Plenum, 1980.
- Pfeiffer, J. W., and Jones, J. E.: *Handbooks of Structured Experiences for Human Relations Training*. Iowa: University Associates, 1975.
- Phillips, A.: "How You Learnt about Sex?" *Observer Magazine*, 30 April 1979.
- Porter, A.: "The Programme for Political Education: a Guide for Beginners". *The Social Science Teacher*, Volume 8 No. 3, February 1979.
- Pransky, E., and Flower, F.: "Liberal Studies at Kingsway College for Further Education". In Irvine-Smith, R. (ed.): *Men and Societies*. London: Heinemann, 1968.
- Priestley, P., McGuire, J., Flegg, D., Hemsley, V., and Welham, D.: *Social Skills and Personal Problem Solving*. London: Tavistock, 1978.
- Rackham, N., Honey, P., and Colbert, M.: *Developing Interactive Skills*. Guilsborough: Wellens, 1971.

- Raths, L. E., Harmin, M., and Simon, S. B.: *Values and Teaching*. Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1966.
- Rennie, J., Lunzer, E. A., and Williams, W. T.: *Social Education: an Experiment in Four Secondary Schools*.
- Review Steering Group (Steering Group for the Review of the Training of Part-Time Workers in the Youth and Community Service): *Realities of Training—A Review of the Training of Adults who Volunteer to work with Young People in the Youth and Community Service*. Leicester: NYB, 1978.
- Rogers, J.: *Adults Learning* (2nd edition). Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1977.
- Rogers, V.: *The Social Studies in English Education*. London: Heinemann, 1968.
- RPPITB (Rubber and Plastics Processing Industry Training Board): *School Curricula for a Changing World*. London: RPPITB, 1976.
- Rudduck, J.: "Man: a Course of Study". *Cambridge Journal of Education*, Volume 2 No. 2, Easter Term 1972.
- Rudduck, J.: *Dissemination of Innovation: the Humanities Curriculum Project*. Schools Council—Working Paper 56. London: Evans/Methuen, 1976.
- Rudduck, J. (ed.): *Learning to Teach Through Discussion*. Norwich: Centre for Applied Research in Education, University of East Anglia, 1979.
- Russell Committee: *Adult Education: a Plan for Development*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1973.
- Rutter, M., Maughan, B., Mortimore, P. and Ouston, J.: *Fifteen Thousand Hours*. London: Open Books Ltd., 1979.
- SAFARI Profiles: *the Humanities Curriculum Project*. Norwich: Centre for Applied Research in Education, University of East Anglia, n.d.
- Salkeld, R.: *What Right Have You Got? The First Two Years*. London: BBC, 1979.
- Sanday, A. P., and Birch, P.A.: *Understanding Industrial Society*. Sevenoaks: Hodder and Stoughton, 1976.
- Sandford, N.: "Integrating the Humanities Project". In Elliott, J., and MacDonald, B. (eds.): *People in Classrooms*. Norwich: Centre for Applied Research in Education, University of East Anglia, 1975.
- Saskatchewan NewStart: *Life Skills Coaching Manual*. Prince Albert: Saskatchewan NewStart Inc., 1969.
- Schools Council/Nuffield Humanities Project: *The Humanities Project—an Introduction*. London: Heinemann, 1970.
- Schools Council: *Race Relations and the Curriculum*. London: Schools Council, 1972.
- Sharpe, T.: *Wilt*. London: Martin Secker and Warburg Ltd., 1976.
- Shaw, R.: "Somewhere the God of Reason Smiles". *Times Educational Supplement*, 21 May 1971.
- Shemilt, D.: "An Evaluation of 'History 13-16': Summary and Prospect". In *Schools Council History 13-16 Project: a Handbook*. London: Schools Council, 1979.
- Simon, S. B., Howe, T. W., and Kirschenbaum, H.: *Values Clarification*. New York: Hart Publishing Co., 1972.
- Skilbeck, M.: "Towards Judgement" (book review). *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, Volume 6, No. 1, May 1974.
- Smith, A. D., and Williams, J. B.: "An Analysis of the Life Skills Lesson Plans". In *Training Research and Development Station: Evaluations of Life Skills Training*. Prince Albert: Saskatchewan NewStart Inc., 1974.
- Smith, M.: "Kohlberg and McPhail—a Comparison". *Journal of Moral Education*, Volume 3, No. 1, October, 1973.
- Smith, P. B.: *Improving Skills in Working with People: the T-Group*. Training Information Paper 4. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1969.
- Stenhouse, L.: *An Introduction to Curriculum Research and Development*. London: Heinemann, 1975.
- Stenhouse, L.: "Problems and Effects of Teaching about Race Relations": *The Social Science Teacher*, Volume 8, No. 4, April 1979.
- Stephens, M.: *Living Decisions*. London: BBC, 1976.
- Storey, J.: "Careers Across the Curriculum". *Schools Council Newsletter*, No. 29, Spring 1979.
- Street, H.: "WISP at Work". *Contact*, Volume 8 No. 8, July 1979a.
- Street, H.: "WISP at Work". *Contact*, Volume 8 No. 19, November 1979b.
- Townley, C.: "Man: a Course of Study". *The Social Science Teacher*, Volume 8, No. 5, June 1979.

- Trower, P., Bryant, B., and Argyle, M.: *Social Skills and Mental Health*. London: Methuen, 1978.
- Warren, P. W.: "Behavioural Skill and Role Training Approach to Life Skills". In Mullen, V. W. S. (ed.): *Readings in Life Skills*. Prince Albert: Saskatchewan NewStart Inc., 1970.
- Watts, A. G.: "The Implications of School-Leaver Unemployment for Careers Education in Schools". *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, Volume 10 No. 3, September 1978.
- Watts, A. G.: *Work Experience Programmes: The VIEWS of British Youth*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1980.
- Watts, A. G., and Elsom, D.: *Deciding*. Cambridge: CRAC, 1974.
- Watts, A. G., and Herr, E. L.: "Career(s) Education in Britain and the USA: Contrasts and Common Problems". *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, Volume 4 No. 2, July 1976.
- White, R., and Brockington, D.: *In and Out of School*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.
- Whitty G.: "Political Education: Some Reservations". *The Social Science Teacher*, Volume 8 No. 3, February 1979.
- Williams, J.: "Perspectives on the Multi-Cultural Curriculum". *The Social Science Teacher*, Volume 8 No. 4, April 1979.
- Wilson, J., Williams, N., and Sugarman, B.: *Introduction to Moral Education*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967.
- Young Volunteer Resources Unit: *Case Study: Work with Schools—Watford*. Leicester: NYB, 1978.

PRINTED IN ENGLAND FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
BY METCALFE COOPER LTD.

Dd. 8245717 K44 10/80

LIST OF F.E.U. PUBLICATIONS

<i>Title</i>	<i>Date Published</i>
Experience, Reflection, Learning —Suggestions for Organisers of Schemes of Unified Vocational Preparation	April 1978
Annual Report 1977-78	June 1978
Postal Survey of FE Provision for the Young Unemployed 1977	June 1978
Annual Report 1978-79	August 1979
A Basis for Choice —Report of a Study Group on Post-16 Pre-Employment Courses	June 1979
Supporting YOP —Suggestions for Colleges Involved in the Youth Opportunities Programme	June 1979
Active Learning: A Guide —to Current Practice in Experiential and Participatory Learning	May 1980
Active Learning: A Register —of Experiential and Participatory Learning. Part 1 and Part 2	May 1980
Developing Social and Life Skills —Strategies for Tutors	March 1980
Day Release —A Desk Study	July 1980
Loud and Clear? —Summary of a Study of Curriculum Dissemination in Further and Higher Education	August 1980